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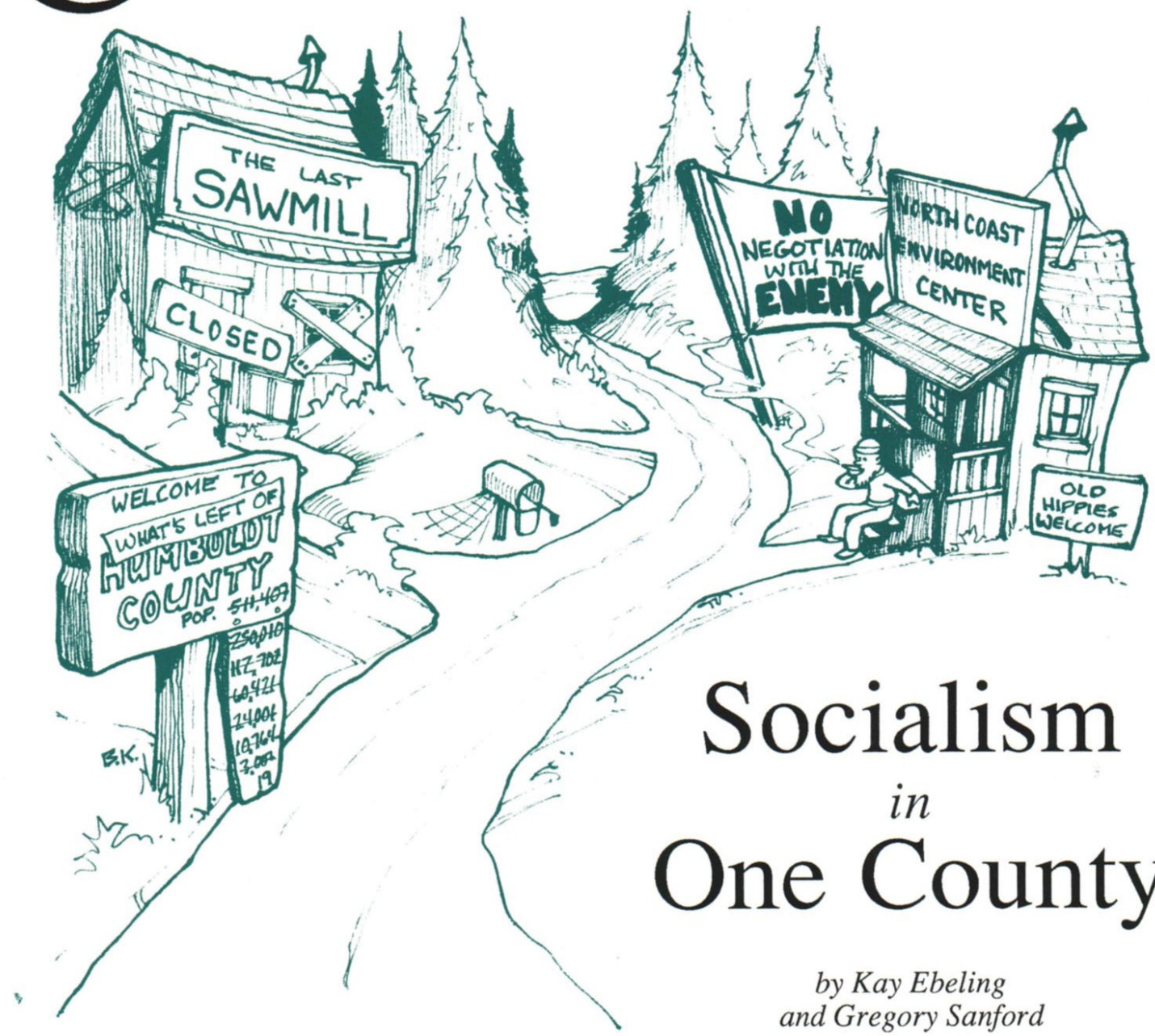

Socialism *in* One County

by Kay Ebeling and Gregory Sanford

Also:

Orange County Cries: Tax Revolt!

Tom Bethell's Conversations In the Tenderloin

Oliver North *Under Fire*

Vol. 2, No. 4 *A Publication of the California Public Policy Foundation* Fall 1991

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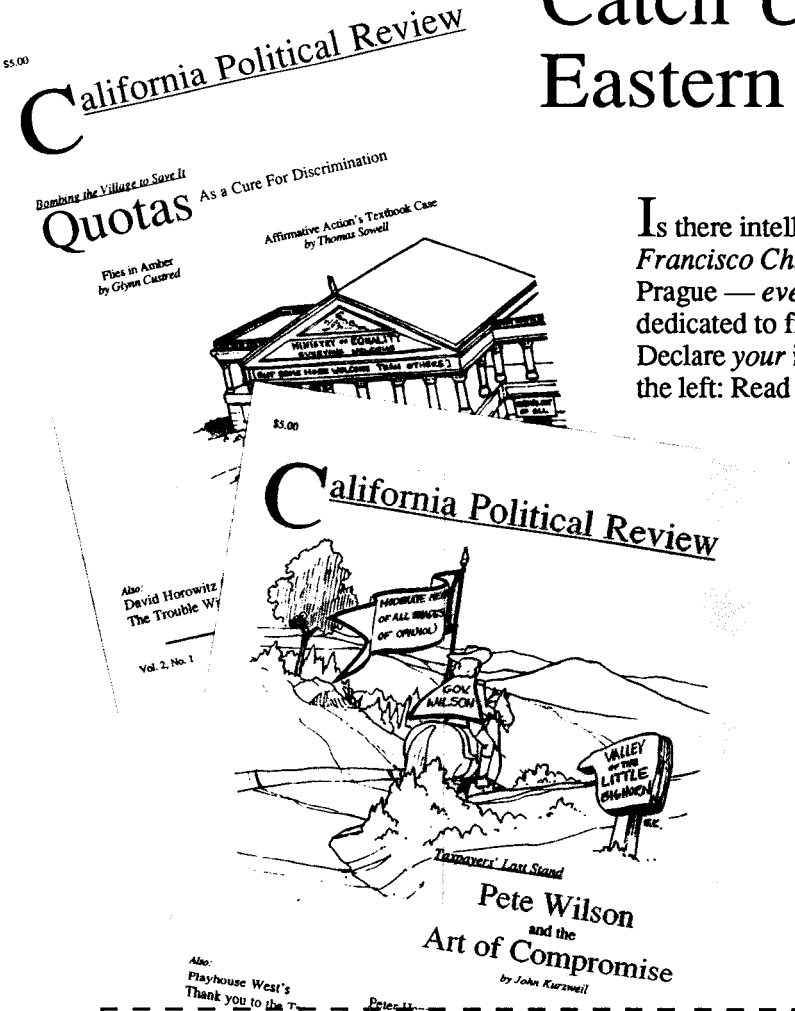
Helping California Catch Up With Eastern Europe



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California Political Review

Fall 1991

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Socialism in One County 10
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Correspondence

Pete Wilson Pulled Together

The piece on Wilson's budget fiasco ("Pete Wilson and the Art of Compromise," *CPR*, Summer 1991) was one of those "suspicions confirmed" experiences for me. You pulled it all together nicely.

M. Bruce Johnson
Santa Barbara

The Issues Side Show

You make a sensible distinction between philosophical integrity and a "free-fall into resentment, despair, and defeat." ("Correspondence," *CPR*, Spring 1991)

If we confuse constructive conservative government overall with an imagined political "victory" on one or two narrow issues of legislation we deceive ourselves into guaranteed defeat.

There is no consolation in demanding pure philosophical integrity from elected officials on one narrow issue while losing the far greater battles for responsible government serving the real public interest.

What passes for public discussion on the "issues" today is actually a side-show contrived to divert public attention from the truly significant and nefarious actions of big government at both state and national levels.

The party of Willie Brown, here and in Washington, is totally immersed in games of gerrymandering, judicial activism, class hatred, and political elitism, all of it in the camouflage of "sensitivity" and "social progress." It is a serious business: a contest of power with enormous consequences.

We badly need to support those legislators who are trying to fight profligate state spending and irresponsible taxation. We also need to support governors and presidents who work for the positions on vital issues consistent with responsible conservative principles.

And if we don't learn to be at least as smart as our liberal opponents are, we are the losers, and for the state and the country it can mean disaster.

Stan Langland
Belmont

Darwin a Bore

I've greatly enjoyed *California Political Review* since starting my subscription nearly a year ago after moving to California from Florida. Though I have found the content of *CPR* to be generally illuminating, I'm afraid I found the article "Neo-Darwinist Pseudoscience" in your Spring (1991) issue to be uninteresting and somewhat out of place in a journal devoted to California politics. If we are to bemoan the direction of contemporary science, I think it would be better to challenge the flawed views of the Green theocracy, with its insistence that we de-industrialize in the face of global warming, *et al.*, than to engage in a creation vs. evolution debate.

Alex Lane
Scotts Valley

Our thanks for your kind words but... Phillip Johnson's "Neo-Darwinist Pseudoscience" was no "creation vs. evolution debate," but a consideration of Darwinism's failure as science per se, *without comparison to any competing explanation of the origin of life. Darwin's fraudulent "science" continues to enjoy great prestige because it is routinely granted just the sort of immunity from serious, genuinely scientific consideration that you urge us to grant it here. Any reform of science that leaves this towering sham untouched treats the symptoms but ignores the disease. Darwinism, taught in our schools as fact, prepares young minds to accept anti-science as science; it prepares them to be receptive to the Green theocracy and every other such travesty that comes along. We can bemoan the direction of contemporary science all we want, but this line will continue to breed as long as its parent is considered beyond reproach.*
Editor

Darwin a Menace

Kudos to *California Political Review* for running an erudite and insightful article on the scientific unsoundness of Darwinism.

This is the sort of reading that unfortu-

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nately is too often missing from political journalism.

Darwinism is a materialist snake oil being peddled to unsuspecting school children by scientists of dubious objectivity with a suspect political agenda. Any teacher or parent who objects to this patent nostrum is persecuted as a fundamentalist crackpot. Why? Because they've committed the cardinal sin of refusing to kowtow to the secular humanist credo of the educational establishment.

Even conservatives often miss the importance of debunking scientific canards such as Darwinism that have become virtual dogma not only in our schools, but in American society. It is these bedrock, underlying philosophical issues that ultimately shape the political and social debate.

When the children to whom we've taught to accept this fundamentally flawed view of humanity — Darwinism — achieve adulthood, that mistaken understanding will necessarily exert a baleful influence on their thinking on a whole range of political issues, such as man's relationship with government. It is imperative that conservatives wage war with equal vigor on the philosophical as well as political fronts.

Matthew J. Cunningham
Orange

The Bad, Old Pre-Feminist Days

If feminism, as Ms. Ebeling implies ("The Reality of Feminism," *CPR*, Summer 1991), has worked more for the benefit of men than women, then what does that say for pre-feminist days? That women had privileges while men got the short end of the stick? Women like Ms. Ebeling did not have to take responsibility for their lives; their husbands did it all for them. This led to an inequitable social order in which men came down with the majority of coronaries, ulcers, and cerebral hemorrhages supporting their wives and children (children which, incidentally, they often never even saw grow up). This prejudice against men could turn downright murderous when it came to one of the other great inequities of the modern age, military conscription: men could be drafted and sent to their mutilation and death in combat, while women got to sit home baking cookies and collecting allotment checks (no complaints personally about the military — I volunteered for the Army and served proudly).

We might also ask what happened to other women in pre-feminist days who didn't get married, those who were not attractive enough, not popular enough, or were just too independent. They spent their lives in poverty and desperation, lacking the opportunities which feminism has brought about. And, of course, I might ask what happened to those men who lacked the salary to support a wife. They were denied the opportunities to have a marriage and family by a social code which demanded that the husband work and the wife stay at home.

Ms. Ebeling might ask herself why she finds herself unable to afford to pay her own way; this can hardly be blamed on feminism — feminism has made it possible for her to find employment in a real career. Is it just that she, like many other traditional women, have refused to take responsibility for their own lives, and then complain because no one else wants to support them? Her statement that men find a wife and family a "nuisance" is downright insulting as well as mendacious. It is only now that men have had the opportunity to share in child raising because, again, feminism has changed employment and social practices to allow both the husband and wife to share work and child raising (although this is something that still has not gone far enough).

As for men divorcing their wives in order to marry younger women, what do you expect? This, again, is directly a result of the pre-feminist order. In the old days, women expected to cash in on their youth, beauty, and sexuality in order to gain a husband (I am old enough to remember how it was; I also lived in the rural South where traditional courtship customs still thrive.) Young women saw no objection to demanding their beaux pay for dinners, theater tickets, flowers, while having no obligation to reciprocate. Naturally this led to an attitude on the part of men that women were mere objects to be pursued and possessed (as well as replaced). It is absurd to talk about the old order being based on "love" or "romance" or "commitment." Women would accept men only as long as the men had money. Since, under the pre-feminist order, men were forced to compete for women's attentions, the natural tendency was to focus in on the younger, more attractive (and more capable of childbearing) women. The inevitable result was that those women in their late teens and early twenties who got married suddenly found themselves out in the cold when they were no longer physically attractive.

If men are to support their wives financially, then look at some of the implications: does this mean that men should be given preference in higher education, professional careers, and promotions? Ms. Ebeling flatly states that "women don't belong in 12-hour-a-day executive office positions...." Would we then make it against the law for women to be employed as executives? Would we then make it obligatory for men to get married and support a wife? Because if we don't, what then would happen to those women whom men do not court?

True enough, feminism disrupted many people's lives: those women who got a free ride from men, and those men who saw women as objects to be used, suddenly lost their power. But to the great majority of men and women, feminism has been liberating.

Joseph Miranda
Palmdale

Kay Ebeling responds:

You write an interesting, though sadly bitter, letter and you seem to have forgotten one of the most important roles women held in pre-feminist days: that of nurturer, child-raiser, and manager of the home. It's true that on rare occasions men today want to take on their share of housework and childraising, and you say

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"this is something that has not gone far enough." Are you suggesting some form of totalitarian mind control, forcing men to develop more nurturing personalities, perhaps by estrogen injections? The truth is most men do not have the nurturing instincts of women. That is why the traditional family has existed for hundreds of years. It provides a stable force in society. The years since feminism became a significant force, when women suddenly decided they could contribute more to the world by getting MBAs and becoming CEOs, are years we've seen the family virtually destroyed. They are also years of teen pregnancy, drug abuse, children murdering children — I believe these horrible developments in the lives of our youths can be traced directly to the dissolution of the family and the absence of a mother in the home. Children come home from school to empty houses; where do they get discipline and support? Children are put in daycare centers full time as early as six weeks of age. How will they get the constant touching and nurturing a baby needs?

YOU SAY that these full-time housewives and mothers are just looking for someone to support them. Obviously you've never spent a day taking care of two or three children, chasing them around the house in a constant state of crisis intervention, cooking their meals (preferably from scratch for their nutritional needs), giving up simple pleasures such as ten minutes to drink a cup of coffee without interruption, washing mounds of laundry including pre-stain cleaning unmentionable substances from the fabric — all this while maintaining a state of patience, being willing to listen to a child stumble through a sentence so that you can help that child learn the complexities of the language, washing the crayon marks off the wall without losing your temper while at the same time giving the errant child a lesson in what is right and wrong.

In short, Mr. Miranda, raising children is the most difficult, selfless, and demanding job on earth. A man should be most grateful to find a wife who is willing to devote herself to this most important of all careers — the development of the next generation of adults. A man should be more than willing to support a woman who will do this job for him.

It's true there have always been women who for whatever reason did not get married, "those who were not attractive enough," as you describe it. It's also true that single women have always had the option to choose careers — in pre-feminist days they usually became teachers or nurses; the more outstanding women became doctors, college professors, scientists, business executives. Yes, there were women who chose careers over family before Gloria Steinem wrote a word. Many of the more recent breakthroughs in education and career options would have taken place with or without the shrill screech of feminism. By making these developments into a political movement, we changed them from natural cultural evolution to mandated social restructuring. Many women were forced out of their homes and into the work place. Many women lost their freedom of choice to feminism.

I feel sorry for you, Mr. Miranda, that you see the romance of courtship as women cashing in on their youth, beauty, and sexuality in order to gain a husband. You also seem to have fallen into the contemporary trap that if a marriage doesn't work out, you can always get a divorce. I believe marriage is a sacrament, not to be entered into casually. You take vows to stay together "for better or worse." That includes the woman's loss of her waistline from pregnancy and the man's development into a bickering curmudgeon. Marriage vows are taken before God and should be treated with respect.

IF THE man cannot earn a lot of money, the family is better off eating beans and bread together than microwaving Stouffers dinners thanks to mom's return to the work force. And by the way, thanks to feminism, women are getting ulcers and heart disease today as well as men; only faster, because our stomach linings and nervous systems are not as tough as men's. Open any women's magazine today and read about it. Feminists insist there are no differences between men and women; I say we should celebrate and enjoy these differences to the maximum.

Finally, Mr. Miranda, please, I am "Miss" Ebeling, not by any means a "Ms."

David Horowitz a "New Republican"?

I agree with much of what is said in "A 'New Republicanism'" (*CPR*, Summer 1991). A comment on the piece: I have found *National Review* at least boring if not irrelevant for a couple of years now, and I think a case can be made that *NR* is not far from "the New Republicanism." As much as I admire David Horowitz, and I do, he ran a piece in *NR* a while ago suggesting that conservatives need to rethink their attitudes on homosexuality and race. Maybe so, but I think we need to return to the view of Barry Goldwater in 1965, not become part of the liberal thought police. Barry Goldwater opposed the 1965 Civil Rights Bill because he opposed making the federal government into Big Brother, and boy was he ever on the mark. If the 1965 bill had struck down *de jure* segregation that would have been perfect, because the law should not tell you who you can or cannot associate

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California Chronicles

John Gurley, editor

California Chronicles reports on current activities and projects of conservative leaders and organizations around the Golden State.

Pacific Legal Foundation

Term Limits

In one of the most important court rulings in California history, the State Supreme Court recently upheld Proposition 140 against a broad legal attack launched by powerful legislative leaders. Pacific Legal Foundation defended the measure which limits the terms of state office holders, reduces legislative spending, and dramatically reforms the legislative retirement system. Legislative leaders launched a complex legal challenge in the California Supreme Court seeking to destroy the proposition entirely. It cited the U.S. Constitution's Equal Protection Clause, the First Amendment, and an unusual claim that the new law somehow constituted an unlawful "bill of attainder." The suit also said the law violated the state Constitution's "single subject" rule for initiatives and that it was an impermissable "revision" of the Constitution and not just an amendment.

In its ruling, the California Supreme Court rejected these arguments and upheld all the significant aspects of the initiative but delayed the phasing out of the legislative retirement system. The court found that the system was no longer in effect for new members, so this issue will be moot when all current officeholders leave office. Moreover, the court agreed with Pacific Legal Foundation's interpretation that the initiative imposed a lifetime ban on running for the same office after the specified number of terms had been served. Contact: Linda Hellakson, 2700 Gateway Oaks Dr., Ste. 200, Sacramento, CA 95833, 916/641-8888.

Hon. Dennis Brown

Mission to Cambodia

During his 12 years as a member of the California Assembly, Dennis Brown's consistent adherence to the principles he told voters he believed in caused consternation among many of his fellow legislators and mystified members of the Capitol press corps. (They call such politicians "cavemen.")

Dennis retired from the Legislature last year. Shortly before that, however, he traveled to Southeast Asia for a short visit at the invitation of an American missionary to Thailand he'd met in California. He later returned to the region to help missionaries in Cambodia to develop a children's home, school, and medical clinic.

Orphaned during more than 20 years of continual warfare, Cambodian children today live in primitive villages in desperate need of basic health care and more or less every other one of life's necessities.

To help support this effort, Dennis formed a non-profit organization called the Southeast Asia Children's Home which is supported by charitable donations. Further support from generous members of the public is needed if Dennis is to continue his work.

Anyone wishing to help by providing funds for this purpose can receive additional information by writing to: Dennis Brown, 3162 Tigertail Dr., Los Alamitos, CA 90720.

Young America's Foundation

Conservative Campus Speakers

Does your campus see a monotonous parade of predictable, left-wing speakers? Are you and your fellow students interested in bringing well-known speakers to your campus to give your campus community a conservative perspective? If so, the Young America's Foundation may be able to help you.

A dozen prominent speakers have agreed to give speeches on college campuses this school year. Young America's Foundation will help you arrange the speakers. They include: **Hon. Ed Meese**, former U.S. attorney general; **Rep. Phil Crane**; **Ambassador Ken Adelman**, former director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament

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Agency; **Russell Kirk**, an intellectual godfather of the conservative movement; *CPR* editorial advisor and best-selling author **David Horowitz**; **Prof. Jeffrey Hart**, senior editor at *National Review*; **Phyllis Schlafly**, nationally-known conservative activist; and five other conservative leaders. The Foundation sometimes offers financial support for these speakers. Contact: Kate Obenshain, Young America's Foundation, 110 Elden St., Herndon, VA 22070, 703/318-9608.

California Republican Party

Literacy Outreach

Under a new CRP outreach program, volunteers recruited by Republican Central Committees in all the state's 58 counties are helping Californians learn to read, to learn English as a second language, and to become citizens.

Long-time Republican volunteer and Freedoms Foundation Award winner Louise Leigh has been the primary force behind this new program. She began planning these classes about two years ago after her then-new neighbor, who is Chinese, introduced himself while she was gardening and asked if she would help him learn to speak English. Soon, she was teaching his family and friends on her patio twice a week.

The Pasadena Republican Club and Pasadena Young Republicans have had particular success with the program. They approached the pastor of a predominantly black church in their area asking if any members of his congregation might be interested in classes in reading and writing.The answer was an emphatic yes. And now, besides learning to read, 80 percent of the students have re-registered Republican. So did the pastor! Leigh is currently contacting pastors of predominantly black churches around the state offering the program to any who are interested.

Students and volunteer teachers are recruited using broadcast public service announcements, letters-to-the-editor, and guest newspaper columns, all concentrating on ethnic radio and cable television stations and ethnic newspapers. Volunteers give a few hours teaching a weekly class, or, in some cases alternate with a second volunteer, each teaching every other week. Contact: Louise Leigh, 11022 1/2 McGirk, El Monte, CA 91731, 818/443-6223.

Students for America

Political Correctness At CSUN

Students for America's California State University, Northridge, chapter is under attack for "intolerance" by such politically correct groups as SQUISH (Strong Queers United in Stopping Heterosexism) for having committed the sin of sponsoring conservative speakers on campus. SFA's speakers are accused of "discriminating" against homosexual beliefs. Also, SFA has circulated pamphlets arguing that traditional family values are weakened through the promotion of homosexuality and radical feminism. In retaliation, SQUISH is calling for the revocation of SFA's campus charter.

SFA's constitution is said to lack a required clause guaranteeing equal opportunities to "all students without regard to race, color, religion, creed, gender, pregnancy, marital affiliation, sexual or affectional orientation, age, ethnic origin, citizenship, nationality, veteran status or physical disability."

SFA California Chairman Stefan Khatchaturian replies that the campaign to close his group down violates CSUN students' First Amendment rights and that SFA complied with all CSUN's Constitutional Affairs Board requests when obtaining its campus charter.

If CSUN is interested in eliminating favoritism and discrimination on campus, it might consider the Associated Student Senate's distribution of funds to campus groups: While SFA received $400 for the current year, $1,200 went to the CSUN Lesbian and Gay Alliance and $9,000 to the pro-feminist Womens Center. Contact: Stefan Khatchaturian, Students for America, 1030 S. Glendale Ave., Ste. 501, Glendale, CA 91205, 818/248-8721. CPR

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Correspondence

(Continued from page 4)

with; what it did, however, was bring in the argument of *de facto* segregation which is inseparable from making the individual have to prove the purity of his motives and his thoughts, and as we now know statistics will "prove" your guilt or innocence. It means businesses hire with an eye to race, schools give preferences according to race, and individuals are blackmailed with the threat of being charged with race crime. Yeah, right, David, this is great stuff, and all that is needed is for the conservatives to sign on in support. Ain't it great how the federal government can re-educate the citizens. Maybe they can open up camps next.

As for the homosexuality issue, I'll be glad to pass laws protecting sexual preference as soon as you pass a law telling me I must ignore what I understand to be the teachings of the Christian religion. Until then, I intend to oppose laws that will force me to approve of homosexual behavior. Isn't this how liberalism always argues? It will first ask us to end a law of prohibition, and it will then pass a law to compel us to approve of what we merely sought not to punish. No, conservatives don't have to embrace the liberal consensus of the '60s; they can still argue for transcendent religious values and for defending the individual from the expanding secular power of the State. Or maybe we too should adopt the view that you can't trust the American people; that will be The New Conservatism.

Fred Quinnelly
Anaheim

David Horowitz responds:

Regarding the points Mr. Quinnelly raises, this is what I wrote in National Review*: "In point of fact, if the AIDS epidemic demonstrates anything, it confirms the view that homosexuality is itself not a choice (for how many would choose to join a high-risk group where the risk is certain death?), but is a stroke of God or nature. This being the case, an appropriate conservative (or even religious) atti-*

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Commentary

America Dodges a Bullet

CLARENCE THOMAS'S confirmation hearings again confirmed just how dead liberalism is in America. Hypocrisy was everywhere: Alan Cranston, within hours of obtaining his Senate Ethics Committee whitewash in the Keating affair, accusing Thomas of duplicity and stonewalling in his Judiciary Committee testimony. Senate Democrats unctuously professing their devotion to justice and fairness, then employing leaks, media hysterics, and inflammatory charges *with no evidence* to smear a man whose real crime was that he thinks for himself, something this power elite can neither fathom nor tolerate. And the crowning idiocy, Ted Kennedy — the man, as one commentator put it, who leaves women in cars to drown — rising to defend the Cause of Women and not being hooted out of the city.

Plenty has already been written about this whole sordid business, but two points remain to be made. First, contrary to the express belief of more or less everyone, friend and foe of Thomas alike, whose comments on the confirmation fight have appeared in print, "sexual harassment" is *not* a "serious issue."

Second, too much attention has been focused on the leak of the FBI report and too little on the critical issue that a majority of senators was willing to elevate to center stage groundless charges already investigated and judged to be without merit by the FBI and the Judiciary Committee.

REGARDING "SEXUAL HARASSMENT," no crime, or *faux pas*, or whatever it is, that has no definition can possibly be a serious issue. If those wringing their hands about "sexual harassment" really mean rape, or lewd conduct, or moral depravity, or assault, or sins against charity, or foul language, or poor taste in movies, or abuse of power, or all or any of the above, then they should say so, calling the thing by its proper name. Then, perhaps, a serious issue would be raised. Doing that, however, would work poorly for men who routinely vote to spend taxpayer dollars to support the celebration of most of these evils in the name of art, not to mention practicing many of them in their private lives. That's because these things

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Sacramento Spectator

More Tales From the Front

WHEN WE last met, your *Spectator* was regaling you with tales of the war between Governor Pete and the conservatives, said war started purposely and intensified by Pete. Since then, the heat got a bit much for the Guv, and he's thrown a few sops to the right, but sops are clearly all they are. Our Governor remains a committed moderate (is that an oxymoron?) who actively dislikes conservatives and wants to drive us out of the GOP.

In the meantime, you will recall that one front of the Wilson vs. Conservatives war was the battle for the leadership of the Assembly Republican caucus. Ross Johnson, a staunch, anti-tax conservative from Orange County was overthrown as Republican leader in favor of Assemblyman Bill Jones, a very Wilsonian moderate representing Fresno. Johnson's sin was to oppose Wilson's tax increases, and in retribution the governor's office helped plot and execute the coup against Johnson.

SINCE THEN, it's been downhill for the Assembly GOP. Jones' leadership is full of non-descript snake-oil artists, hacks, and opportunists who wouldn't know a philosophical principle if it hit them between the eyes. Willie Brown, able to sense political weakness like a shark sniffing blood in the water, has moved in with his castrating knife. His first move was to fire, summarily, all 15 GOP Assembly staff members serving as policy consultants to the Republican members of various Assembly committees. And what has been the response of Bill Jones and his "leadership" to this direct challenge to their ability to influence policy-making in the Capitol? So far nothing but hand wringing and whining.

The staffers Brown fired were the GOP's eyes and ears in the Assembly. They analysed *every* piece of legislation introduced, pointed out the hidden pitfalls and booby traps placed there by the Democrats, and produced recommended positions for Assembly Republicans.

They were devastatingly effective in torpedoing bad Democrat bills, a fact not lost on the Speaker, even if it's gone unnoticed by the Republicans in charge in the Assembly. As one could expect to find with any such group, this band of 15 included a couple of clunkers, but by and large they were the hardest-working and *most conservative* collection of staff members to be found in any one place in or near the Capitol.

COINCIDENCE? DOES it bother Bill Jones and his "moderate" leadership that one of the last groups of effective conservatives has been eliminated by Willie Brown? Their weak-kneed response inspires little confidence that these "leaders" are capable of opposing even the most outrageous attacks by Speaker Brown.

And sadly, these pusillanimous jellyfish could not have been installed as "leaders" without the support of a handful of self-described conservatives whose votes were bought for Sacramento's version of 30 pieces of silver: better offices, more staff, or the thrill of revenge for all sorts of past slights, real and imagined. The price of their venality is now being paid by the innocent bystanders of the policy staff who used to provide conservative input on legislation. Eventually, those who sold out will pay a price as well, assuming, that is, that at some point down the road they decide they would like to mount the kind of effective opposition to the liberal policies of the Democrats that they were elected to provide. By then, perhaps, these conservatives will wish they hadn't helped clear the way for the dismissal of their own policy staff.

IF ANY of you out there voted for the term limiting Proposition 140 last November, have no doubt about the wisdom of your vote. The only drawback is that another five years must pass before we're rid of this current crop of spineless hucksters. CPR

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Correspondence

(Continued from page 7)

tude toward homosexuality ought in the first instance to be one of tolerance and respect for difference.

"Tolerance and respect for homosexuals does not mean endorsing the political agenda of the homosexual left, however. This left has laid siege to the very concept of the biological family, and hijacked America's public-health and health-care-delivery systems for its own political ends. If silence = death, as the homosexual radicals proclaim, promotion of promiscuity and the obstruction of proven public-health methods (testing, contact tracing, etc.) have been the most important factors ensuring the spread of the epidemic and therefore the needless deaths of tens of thousands of homosexuals and others (particularly Hispanic and black I.V. drug abusers) who were unknowingly in its path. The absolutist left is a threat to its own constituencies (no surprise here). It is on this pragmatic ground that conservatives should join the political battle. For homosexuals as an American minority: tolerance and respect. For gay 'liberation' as a radical agenda: no quarter."

REGARDING THE issue of race I wrote, "The '60s were ...in a sense, the true end of the Civil War, its successful conclusion in a new social contract that repaired the faulty structure of the Founding, finally including black Americans (and by extension all minorities) in the constitutional covenant. It is this completed covenant on which a persuasive conservatism must be built....

"For the radicals of the '60s, the historic achievement of the civil rights revolution was not an act of completion, but an occasion for a new offensive on the covenant itself — the 'System' that radicals despised by nature. Thus...a new agenda was advanced — black power, black liberation, affirmative action, racial entitlement....[that] subverted liberalism, leaving conservatives as the sole defenders of the liberal legacy. This is the real basis of the majoritarian opportunity." CPR

have definitions and the behavior they describe can be identified. They are *real.*

"Sexual harassment," on the other hand, is whatever we'd like to imagine it to be, or not to be. As charges go, it is on a level with denunciations as an Enemy of the People before a revolutionary mob. To be charged is to be condemned because all that is actually being said is: here is someone upon whom we may vent our pent up frustrations and angers; don't worry about whether he is actually guilty of anything or not. Official opinion has condemned him and a holiday from fairness has been declared. Enjoy.

IF this sounds exaggerated, consider the following headline that appeared above a front-page newspaper article published at the height of the controversy: "Women's Old Angers Resurface," followed by the subhead: "Many of them side with Clarence Thomas' accuser, not because they know who is telling the truth but because they recall sexual harassment by other men." In its preference for frenzied emotionalism over fairness and truth, the charge summarizes the left's idea of how a legal system should operate. By pulling this trick out of their sack, the Senate's most dedicated liberals have once more told us all we need to know about why liberals should never be trusted either to be or to choose America's judges.

On the second point, this crisis came not when the report was leaked, but only when more than half of the Senators chose to delay the Thomas vote because of the leak. They thereby transformed a non-charge into a matter of critical importance and thus repudiated, if only for one week, America's dedication to the rule of law. The smear was itself eventually repudiated with only a few votes to spare. Had it not been for a vast outpouring of support for Thomas by the American people, our august senators would probably have voted against confirmation. We dodged a bullet on this one.

It is worth contemplating the implications of this brush with revolutionary justice. What sort of a Senate have we? The sad answer is: one in which Ted Kennedy is more at home than Clarence Thomas.

The Pitfalls of Pragmatism, II

REMEMBER GOVERNOR Pete Wilson, the fiscal conservative who was liberal on social issues? If you don't recognize him these days that's understandable. He's best-known now for presiding over the largest tax increase in California history and vetoing a bill carrying the label "gay rights." Wilson's political "pragmatism" was supposed to mean bold, independent thinking, freed from narrow ideological slogans like "no new taxes." It was going to allow him to attack problems squarely and realistically. It now seems the governor has merely been trying to set his course without benefit of rudder or compass. Sailors who do that soon find themselves swept along by every passing tide and eddy, their course set by forces beyond their control. They usually end up on the rocks. With the state budget already some $3 billion out of balance, perhaps the governor will reconsider the practical wisdom of pragmatism without principle and launch the campaign against irresponsible spending by state government that should have begun the day he was sworn in. CPR

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By KAY EBELING
and
GREGORY SANFORD

Socialism *in* One County

Socialism may have proven disastrous for the environments of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, but in California's Humboldt County the experiment with centrally-planned, command-from-the-top economics goes on. Strangely, those involved seem to think this is the way to save the environment.

THE WOMAN behind the counter at Northcoast Environmental Center gave a crooked grin, almost a wink, and said, "Oh, it isn't just the spotted owl that concerns us. The owl is just at the top of the food chain for an entire eco-system."

The visitor tried to start up a dialogue: "Still the timber companies say that for every tree they cut they plant six...."

Her gesture said, "Posh." Her face showed she was privy to some esoteric information. "Those trees never grow back," she said with conviction.

"But what about demand?" the visitor asked. "People need houses. It takes wood to build houses...."

"Greed," she cut in again. "If there's so much demand, then why are they sending logs off to Japan and Mexico for processing?"

Would there be any point, the visitor wondered, in mentioning that international demand for lumber is growing as, for example, the Japanese have started building Western style homes? The woman was becoming uncomfortable. She noticed that the visitor was taking notes and gathering up all the free leaflets and brochures (mounds of paper).

"You really shouldn't be talking to me about this," she said. "I'm just the bookkeeper." Then she turned her attention to the more politically correct questions of a college student, who later dropped several dollars in the donation box.

Humboldt County's ongoing battles over what people should and should not be allowed to do with trees and the wood they contain, trees growing on either public or private land, seem to involve more than their fair share of paranoia. They've assumed more or less the character of a religious war or a blood feud and show little sign of becoming less intractable any time soon. As *Newsweek* put it in its September 30 report on "The West": "Tradi-tionally, environmentalists pursue a policy of polarization — no negotiation with the enemy." The operative assumption often seems to be that we must choose between the economy and the environment, that, in Humboldt County for instance, we can have a timber industry or we can preserve our forests, but we cannot do both.

A less absolutist attitude portrays the issue as balancing the in-

Kay Ebeling, who lives in Humboldt County, and Gregory Sanford, of Southern California, are free-lance writers.

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terests of the timber industry against environmental concerns, conceding that the industry should be allowed to exist, but that it should be carefully controlled by government regulation because, left to themselves, logging concerns would rape the countryside, not resting until the last twig, living or dead, had been removed. In this vein, the *Los Angeles Times* recently argued editorially that California needs new laws that will "reform the state's out-of-control timber practices" so as to "preserve irreplaceable ancient forests," but then generously added that these objectives should be accomplished "without strangling this important industry." While avoiding the all-or-nothing absolutism of some of the more extreme environmentalists, the *Times* still portrays the relationship between the timber industry and the forests as one of hungry predator and defenseless prey, implying that government regulation is all that keeps the loggers from devouring the trees in an "out-of-control" feeding frenzy.

It's as though timber interests suffered from an intrinsic moral depravity. The implication is undisguised among the "no negotiation with the enemy" environmentalists, and more vague in the *Times*' analysis, but unmistakably present and central to the thinking in both cases. The effect is to arrange a two-tiered hierarchy of concerns as the starting point for negotiations: environmental interests with pure motives and noble objectives placed above; the grubbing "economic" interests occupying the lower position.

BUT THIS is absurd. Trees are valuable *both* for the profit to be made from turning them into useful products for people all over California and around the world *and* for the beauty and natural habitat that forests provide. The economic problem: how can this scarce resource be most wisely handled to give us the maximum of both these goods?, involves one as much as the other. The injection of radical anti-business ideology into the mix only confuses matters. It poisons the discussion so that a technical economic problem calling for rational, scientific measures becomes a take-no-prisoners religious war. It pits political groups and power centers against one another while considerations of both commerce and the environment fade into the background.

It need not be so. *Newsweek* noticed "a whiff of conciliation in the air" and referred to "Portland-based activist Randal O'Toole" who, according to *Newsweek*, "thinks polarization is as outdated as *perestroika*." "'Cumulatively the [environmental] movement is interested in shutting down the timber industry,' says O'Toole .... [but] by realistically analyzing budgets on both sides, he says, 'We can have all the environmental amenities, and all the timber we want.'"

THE ROYAL Swedish Academy of Sciences, perhaps surprisingly, comes to our rescue at this point. By awarding this year's Nobel Prize in economics to Ronald Coase, professor emeritus at the University of Chicago, and thus stimulating renewed interest in his pioneering work, the Royal Academy points the way for our escape from the distorting influence of radical anti-business ideology.

"The traditional approach," wrote Coase in his classic 1960 article "The Problem of Social Cost," "has tended to obscure the nature of the choice that has to be made. The question is commonly thought of as one in which A inflicts harm on B and what has to be decided is: how should we restrain A? But this is wrong. We are dealing with a problem of a reciprocal nature. To avoid the harm to B would inflict harm on A. The real question that has to be decided is: should A be allowed to

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harm B or should B be allowed to harm A? The problem is to avoid the more serious harm."

IF IT is granted that harvesting California's forest resources harms the environment, it must also be granted that protecting the environment harms not only the tree harvesters but also large numbers of other people who buy and use their products and still other people who sell things to the harvesters and then pass along their earnings through *their* buying. Especially in an economy like Humboldt's, where so much of the peoples' productive activity derives from a single basic resource, a one-sided campaign to restrain harm in one direction only — to the environment — has devastating results. "In devising and choosing between social arrangements," Coase concludes his article, "we should have regard for the total effect. This, above all, is the change in approach which I am advocating." His advice seems self-evidently wise, and most on the anti-business side in Humboldt would protest that they, not the industry, are bringing balance to what has been a one-sided assault on the forests. Is it so? Let us see.

Not everyone, by any means, who considers himself an environmentalist is possessed of a left-wing anti-business ideology. Environmentalists come with a wide variety of backgrounds and viewpoints. Dr. John A. Baden, chairman of the Foundation for Research on Economics and the Environment in Bozeman, Montana, for instance, sharply criticizes the notion that natural resources fare better in government hands than under private control. Environmentalists can be found running and working for logging companies. But some others, particularly in Humboldt County, are professional agitators whose roots and ideas spring from radical politics and whose objectives reflect more their profound antipathy toward business and businessmen than any consistent environmentalism.

MANY HAVE roots in the anti-Vietnam war movement of the '60s. When San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury district and other such places evolved from hippie havens to crime-ridden streets, the "dropouts" dropped farther out. In the late '70s and early '80s, many came to Humboldt County to "get back to nature and find themselves." They built ramshackle houses out of scrap lumber and stained glass on remote parcels of land. During those years the timber industry was in a recession, so these ex-urbanites assumed that Humboldt's forested hills were always serene and quiet, with no man-made intrusions. Then, in 1985, the timber industry returned to a boom cycle. Suddenly the hippies in their forest huts were awakened early in the morning by road cutters, tractors, chainsaws, and helicopters. While logging families welcomed the doubled harvest plans that put food on their tables, the displaced hippies were outraged. They saw the boom as a rape of nature, and called on their old mobilization skills to get themselves organized.

We attended these classes for about a year. We were taught how to be an 'eco warrior,' how to manipulate the media, and how to file needless lawsuits.

CECELIA LANMAN, who had worked with Cesar Chavez's United Farm Workers Union earlier in her career, helped set up the Environmental Protection Information Center (EPIC), a group in southern Humboldt County dedicated to filing lawsuits to stop timber harvests. EPIC then appeals decisions non-stop to the highest courts. Robert Sutherland, whose only management experience was with the 1967 Summer of Love in San Francisco, went to work at EPIC as director of legal attacks against the timber industry. David Simpson, an actor with the radical San Francisco Mime Troupe, became a prime mover in EPIC's projects. Peter Childs, a traveling folk singer in the '60s, organized a group whose goal was to keep the industry from cutting one more redwood tree.

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EPIC has filed seven lawsuits in five years against Pacific Lumber Company alone, keeping thousands of privately owned acres of timber land dormant. "Up to 1986, we used to file around 50 timber harvest plans (THPs) a year," says Mary Bullwinkel, spokeswoman for Pacific Lumber. "This year we're not filing half that many. It used to cost $400 to file a THP and it was about 10 pages long. Now because of the spotted owl and other wildlife studies, THPs cost about $4,000, and they're hundreds of pages long."

CANDACE BOAK and a corps of timber industry wives formed Mothers' Watch in 1988 to keep an eye on the radical environmentalists' activities. They spent their first year monitoring a program called HOPE (Humboldt Outreach Program for the Environment), a series of classes being taught at Humboldt State University in Arcata. "We attended these classes for about a year," Boak says. "We were taught how to be an 'eco warrior,' how to use the book 'Eco Defense,' how to do tree sits and other acts of civil disobedience, how to manipulate the media, and how to file needless lawsuits." She says the classes, taught by members of Earth First!, had innocuous titles such as "Investigative Journalism," "Grassroots Political Action," "Conducting Field Surveys," "How to Start a Lawsuit," and "Deep Ecology." Later, when HOPE took its program to the Humboldt County School Board with a plan to put its curriculum into grades K-12, the women of Mothers' Watch protested, wrote letters, and lobbied by telephone. "Our group by then had grown to about 30," Boak said. "We pleaded with them [the Office of Education] to keep these people away from our children. The program never got into the schools."

In 1990, the radicals proclaimed Redwood Summer. Earth First! members arrived by the busload or in old, beat up cars with out-of-state license plates. (It is amazing how many "environmentalists" chug around in vintage automobiles producing thick clouds of exhaust fumes.) Redwood Summer was supposed to bring Humboldt County's timber industry to a halt. Its organizers, presumably, are among those environmentalists Randal O'Toole had in mind when he said the movement's cumulative interest is "in shutting down the timber industry." Their 1990 demonstrations failed to do so, of course. They bragged beforehand that their national media campaign would draw thousands of protesters to the county, but the kick-off rally was attended by less than 300 protesters (and curious observers) and it turned out to be the largest group they could muster all summer. The Sheriff's Department did have to arrest 44 individuals who managed to stop one logging truck by throwing themselves and their children in front of it, and by climbing onto its payload of logs and into the cabin, dangling a banner and scaring the daylights out of one truck driver.

Now, these people don't hold office or pass laws in Sacramento or Washington dealing with Humboldt's economy, but their pervasive anti-business radicalism serves to distort our perception of the issues and to polarize the disputants involved. Redwood Summer succeeded in mobilizing timber workers. Candace Boak and the Mothers' Watch women put together one of the most effective demonstrations of the year with more than 200 persons carrying signs reading, "We all have the right to work," "Would you trust your children's future to Earth First!?" and "Let's be rational, not red."

SO POLITICALLY charged an atmosphere provides a poor climate for following Coase's advice that "in devising and choosing between social arrangements, we should have regard for the total effect." Unfortunately, moving from the radical activism of the Earth First! types to the less flamboyant doings of state and national lawmakers we find that, even though the tone usually (but not always) becomes less shrill, disregard for "the total effect" of policy arrangements often remains the rule. A case in point is the recent history of California Assembly Bill 860, legislation devised after voters rejected "Big Green" and other forest issue initiatives on the statewide ballot in 1990. AB 860 passed the California Legislature earlier this year and was vetoed by Gov. Wilson on October 11. Without attempting to

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Commissar Richard Wilson

As if in an effort to recreate scenes from *The Three Faces of Eve*, Gov. Pete Wilson first vetoed Assembly Bill 860 citing such "flaws" as its "fixed prescriptions of limited scientific basis in the areas of sustained yield, buffer-zone requirements, and even-aged [clearcutting] management," then instructed Directr of Forestry Richard A. Wilson to promulgate new forestry regulations under current law that contain *exactly* the unscientific prescriptions of AB 860: clearcuts are reduced from 80- to 20-acre maximums, "buffer" zones (where no logging may be done) are arbitrarily imposed over vast stretches of private land, and clearcutting is banned in ancient forests. Also, Forestry Director Wilson is given open-ended authority to "require all feasible mitigation necessary to reduce impacts below the level of significance" — bureaucratese for: anytime Wilson doesn't like something loggers want to do on their own land, he can forbid it *and* impose more or less whatever requirements he likes as conditions for allowing them to proceed. Perhaps a more accurate title would be Commissar Wilson.

dissect every aspect of this complex legislation, a look at some of its key elements will illustrate how little balance and how much prejudice against the timber industry continue to figure in the policies advocated by the "mainstream" environmental movement.

TO PUT the matter in context: half of the land in California is now owned by government. Of Humboldt County's 2,286,720 acres, 571,657 acres — 25 percent — belong to the government. Government owns 79 percent of neighboring Del Norte County's 641,920 acres. The phrase "owned by government," of course, means owned by taxpayers who have supplied, in vast sums, the money necessary to purchase and maintain these lands. Redwood National Park, for instance, which stretches north along the California coast above Eureka into Del Norte County and nearly to the Oregon border, is America's costliest national park at $2.2 billion. (Its original projected cost was approximately $222 million.) In 1984, Californians voted to spend $455 million for park programs and purchase of wetlands. We added $100 million more in 1986 and, with Proposition 70 in 1988, another $776 million. Again, to put the matter in context, since 1926, Californians have approved $1.6 billion for these purposes, but all but $269 million (17 percent) of it was approved during the last eight years. This huge public investment in land and natural resources should be, but rarely is, kept in mind when judging the degree of "balance" represented in such proposals as AB 860.

BAY AREA Assemblyman Byron Sher, AB 860's sponsor, describes his bill as "comprehensive timber reform legislation" that "would have restricted clearcutting and protected California's ancient forests." When Assemblyman Sher talks about "California's forests," be assured, he means private as well as government-owned land. His willingness to ignore the legal distinction of ownership — often encountered among "mainstream" environmentalists — provides one of the grossest examples of failure to consider "the total effect" of policy proposals. It ignores both the legal implications and the economic costs borne by private citizens of yet another violation by government — this time on a massive scale — of property rights. In a sense, it *is* the problem Coase identifies: (presumably) good intentions turned to destructive purposes because only part of their effect is taken into account.

Consider "ancient forests" and "clearcutting." Clearcutting, as the name implies, is the practice of removing all the trees on a parcel when harvesting rather than taking some and leaving some. Definitions of "ancient forest" areas vary from one speaker to another, usually depending upon the point they're trying to make, but the key element is that the lands have never been harvested and, therefore, contain a significant proportion of very large, old, "virgin" redwoods. According to a 1989 U.S. Forest Service estimate, California has 1.74 million acres of coast redwood. About 13.5 percent of this — some 230,000 acres — were classified as "virgin and residual old-growth" redwood stands in 1990 by the Save-the-Redwoods League. Only about 20 percent of this old growth land — about 46,000 acres — is in private hands; the rest is about evenly divided, half in parks and preserves and the other half on unreserved *public* land. Current law allows clearcutting on private timber land in parcels of 80 acres or less (and, in certain narrowly defined and rare circumstances, 120 acres — as a practical matter, 80-acre clearcuts are the maximum); AB 860 would have reduced that to 20 acres and banned *all* clearcutting on old growth land in California. What, we asked Ryan Hamilton of Arcata-based Simpson Timber Company, is wrong with that?

"We engaged in a lot of negotiations with environmental groups" he said. "We found that, on the main

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issues, they weren't interested in biology. They were interested in aesthetics. They wanted things that professional foresters would consider bad forestry just because it looked better. The key issue is clearcutting in redwoods. Clearcutting looks bad. And yet, it's the only way to get satisfactory regeneration in redwoods because you can't grow a redwood tree in the shade. You need sunlight to grow a redwood tree."

None of the pro-860 literature we've seen from Sher's office, from California state Senate Majority Leader Barry Keene, from the Sierra Club, or from the Sierra Accord Coalition ("A Timber, Environmental, Labor Alliance for Forestry Reform") mentions this highly relevant biological fact in discussing clearcuts. This is a political campaign. When you're trying to pass restrictions like these, it doesn't help to dispel, with the truth, the widely-held image of clearcutting as mowing down redwoods and the gradual elimination of redwood forests for no good reason beyond profit.

Noting that it takes 50 years to grow redwoods to harvestable size (about 24 inches in diameter at breast height and 110 feet tall), Hamilton pointed out that Simpson has "380,000 acres and we're cutting a lot less than one-fiftieth of that. We might cut 2,500 acres in a year. The only part of our property that looks bad for a couple of years is the part we just harvested which is a minor portion of the whole property." Is any government land involved? we asked. "We're just talking about private property. What's frustrating is that [proposals like AB 860] are driven by perceptions of people from 'way out of the area."

HAMILTON LATER gave us figures showing that an acre of redwood forest land produces about 1,000 board feet of new growth per year. Thus, Simpson's annual harvest of 100 million board feet is outstripped nearly four-to-one by the approximately 380 million new board feet their land produces annually.

AB 860's provision reducing clearcut parcel sizes from 80 acres to 20 acres or less also carries costs that private land owners would have to cover. Simpson's long-term (50 year) harvesting plan is "all geared to 80-acre, maximum, clearcuts," Hamilton said. Had AB 860 become law, he said, "all the engineering work, roadwork, unit layout, all the planning is thrown away — literally thousands of hours of work — to redesign this whole plan because you put the roads in different places." The legislation contained no provision for paying the private owners for the value of any of their lost effort or productivity.

AB 860 ALSO provides a good example of government's fickleness. Simpson owns a company called Arcata Redwood which lost a sizeable portion of its holdings when Redwood National Park was formed. The government traded other parcels to Arcata Redwood in exchange for part of the land it had taken. The trouble is, these new parcels contain old growth redwoods which, under Byron Sher's plan to "protect California's ancient forests," could be cut only under regulations that make it uneconomical to do so. What the state giveth, the state taketh away.

Clearcutting looks bad. And yet, it's the only way to get satisfactory regeneration because you can't grow a redwood tree in the shade.

Additional restrictions and regulations under AB 860 would have increased required buffer zones between clearcuts, banned clearcuts within 300 feet of state or county roads, limited clearcuts in single watersheds to 15 percent of each ownership per 10 year period, banned clearcuts near streams, required harvesting plans to retain 15 percent of "older forest habitat" and to protect "habitat connectivity" for wildlife protection, lengthen bureaucratic review periods for timber harvesting plans, require approvals from more bureaucratic bodies before timber companies could go to work, *and* im-

(Please turn to page 30)

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A Howard Jarvis Revival

Orange County — 1991

School Boards, combining naiveté, arrogance, and bad timing manage what many had only dreamed of: a bellowing return of the Spirit of Jarvis!

by
State Senator John R. Lewis

THIS SUMMER several California school districts joined the big boys in Sacramento and Washington in the taxation game. Ironically, this trend really took off in conservative, anti-tax Orange County, the political launching pad of Ronald Reagan. Its genesis can be traced to June 30 of this year, when the Orange Unified School District voted 4-3 to impose a $30 per parcel fee on all district residents for the purpose of raising $1.5 million during the 1991-92 school year. We can't, they said, do our job without more money.

It is unclear precisely how this school tax wave was generated, but by most accounts it started when financial consultants to some Northern California school districts stumbled onto a provision of the Streets and Highway Code that could be exploited as a way to raise money.

THE PROVISION, added to the code by the 1972 Landscaping and Lighting Act (authored by then-Assemblyman, now Sen. Robert G. Beverly), allows public agencies to form "assessment districts" and to collect revenues from these districts' property owners. It's generally accepted, legitimate purpose is to allow public agencies to pay for such specific local projects as road maintenance and median strip beautification. That's why it's part of the Streets and Highway Code. It was originally enacted to provide funding for old-fashioned street lights in Manhattan Beach. Sen. Beverly himself adamantly maintains that his bill was never intended for use by school districts. Nonetheless, once this new way to tax was discovered, it quickly buzzed down the school administrator grapevine. An opportunity to increase revenues without risking defeat in a Proposition 13-required democratic vote! Many administrators seized upon it like drowning rats clutching at passing driftwood.

SOME SCHOOL board members candidly admitted it was unlikely these new school taxes could muster the two-thirds voter approval necessary under Proposition 13's provision for special taxes. But the Landscaping and Lighting Act provision required *no* two-thirds vote, only a non-binding public hearing held within a certain time frame. Otherwise, a school board can simply impose the tax by a simple majority. It also provided that if *half* of the affected property owners signed a written protest, the public agency must then approve the assessment by

John R. Lewis represents the 35th state Senate district in north-central Orange County. He is a Republican.

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super-majority vote, defined as including at least one vote more than a simple majority. In the case of one district, this meant 10,000 signatures would have to be collected in the space of a few weeks to force the super-majority vote. But either way, once passed, there is no way to override these assessments short of initiating a costly recall effort.

An opportunity to increase revenues without risking defeat in a democratic vote! Many administrators seized upon it like drowning rats clutching at passing driftwood.

ORANGE UNIFIED blazed the trail as the first Orange County school district to enact the tax. About 375 angry citizens had attended the public hearing and 41 of them took the microphone to blast the board for the sneaky new tax. The *Orange County Register* reported that "the last screaming protester was ushered from the board room just before 1:30 a.m." Unfazed, the school board passed the tax anyway, a show of *chutzpah* that moved Jim Righeimer, president of the Huntington Beach-Fountain Valley Board of Realtors, to say, "I think this will give more boards the guts to go for it." They're "grabbing for whatever they can," he said, but then cautioned that "they've gotten themselves into a lot bigger problem than they realize." Fulfilling Mr. Righeimer's prophecy, nine other districts in the county quickly joined the tax parade. These taxes had to be approved before August 10, the deadline to include the assessment on the 1991-92 property tax bills. Most school officials predicted that their constituents would prove more manageable than the obstreperous citizens of Orange.

"Fullerton is Fullerton and Orange is Orange," said Bill Moore, assistant superintendent of building services for the Fullerton School District, which set a July 24 hearing date for a proposed $36 assessment. "I think the people of Fullerton have more confidence in their schools." It didn't quite turn out that way. The people of Fullerton flooded the offices of their board's trustees with letters and calls protesting the tax, after which the board voted to reject the new levy. Trying to put the best spin on this hasty retreat, Mr. Moore commented, "This board has proven over the years that they listen to the concerns of the voters — that's why they voted this down."

Still, the momentum seemed to be with the school tax bandwagon. On July 23, the Placentia-Yorba Linda Unified School District, hoping to raise $1 million a year, adopted a $17 per parcel tax, also over the protests of irate citizens who attended the hearing. Half of the hoped-for money would go to improving the school stadium and other facilities. The other half would be slated for routine maintenance, in hopes of freeing up funds to restore educational programs and rehire staff that had been cut previously.

The most ambitious scheme to exploit the Landscaping and Lighting Act was concocted by four school districts in the western part of the county: Westminster, Huntington Beach City, Huntington Beach Union, and Ocean View. They banded together to form the West Orange County Schools Finance Authority. A fifth district, Fountain Valley, was invited to participate but politely declined.

This joint Authority formed a board composed of one representative from each member district's school board. Huntington Beach Union had two representatives, presumably because the Authority operated out of their headquarters. Interestingly, four of the five board member "representatives" were employees of the member districts, though non-employee school board members could have been selected. The obvious conflict of interest this created, however, did not seem to bother anyone.

THE JOINT Authority set its board about the task of levying a $50 assessment tax to raise $4.3 million a year to fund a 30-year bond issue for capital improvements and new construction. The Authority's first order of business was to hire an engineering consultant firm, Community Systems Associates, Inc., to think of specific ways to spend the anticipated new revenue. They were accompanied on this undertaking by Paine-Webber, Inc., Mosher Drew Watson Ferguson — Architects, Grayner/Rogers Engineering, and the law firm of Rutan & Tucker. The financially-strapped member districts managed to find $250,000 to spend on this foray into taxation without representation.

The Authority set July 25 for the public hearing, a date that proved to be the high-water mark of the school assessment tax tide. Jim Righeimer and the

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Fountain Valley-Huntington Beach Board of Realtors swung into action, spending several thousand dollars mailing flyers and posting signs all over the district, urging residents to attend the meeting and oppose the new school tax. The *Orange County Register* provided editorial-page support. Their efforts paid off: 1,200 residents attended the hearing at Huntington Beach High School auditorium, a facility designed to accommodate 750. Hundreds stood outside listening to the hearings on loudspeakers hastily set up before the meeting.

TO CALL this crowd angry would be a gross understatement. They were furious. "I wondered if they were going to start throwing things," said Dr. Jerry Sullivan, a member of the Authority and a professor at California State University, Long Beach. Dr. Sullivan was lucky no one had tar and feathers handy. The crowd roared its approval of each denunciation of the Authority and its school tax and jeered the handful of individuals who spoke in favor of them. They rejected the Authority's contention that the issue was support for education. On the contrary, speaker after speaker said they were more than willing to help their schools, but wanted to be asked before the district reached into their pocketbooks. Many did, however, express serious doubt about the Authority's ability to spend the money wisely.

The Board of Realtors threatened the Authority with a lawsuit if they enacted the tax against the will of the people. A hastily-formed group calling itself Citizens for Accountability in Education overtly stated their intention to recall the board. Tempers grew still shorter when an *ad hoc* citizens committee came forward with its own independent audit of the engineering firm's report. They concluded that the Authority was proposing to mire itself in 30 years of bonded debt for improvements that were either unnecessary or wouldn't last as long as the debt itself.

THOROUGHLY DISCREDITING the engineering firm's recommendations, they found dozens of examples of careless, stupid waste: thousands of dollars targeted at schools slated for closure in 1992; installing playground equipment designed for 7-to-11 year olds in schools for 12-to-14 year olds; replacing drinking fountains that worked; building additional outside restrooms for public use instead of simply leaving existing school bathrooms unlocked; opting for more expensive playground rubber safety matting over less expensive, longer-lasting, and equally safe sand. Funding was also slated for such essential educational facilities as lighted tennis courts and a new swimming pool complete with underwater viewing room. The litany was long and disheartening.

But the board wouldn't hear of sensible alternatives, such as charging user fees to those who actually made use of school facilities. Instead, they sat in sphinx-like silence as angry citizen after angry citizen vented his spleen. They spoke only through their chairwoman, Karen O'Bric, a representative of the Huntington Beach City School District who confined herself to half-hearted attempts at maintaining order. The hearings began at 7 p.m. and lasted until nearly 2 o'clock in the morning. Seventy-five property owners addressed the committee; no more than 10 spoke in favor of the tax and one of those was a school board member. When the last property owner had his say just after 1 a.m., several hundred people were still in the auditorium, prepared to stick it out to the bitter end. The board recessed for half an hour to discuss the real and worrisome possibility of a lawsuit. When they returned, the stunned crowd watched them vote unanimously to impose the tax. In the pandemonium that followed, the recallers immediately began hatching their plans, the board's uniformed security guards attempted to prevent Jim Righeimer from serving the board with a lawsuit, and other citizens expressed concern that the written protests of property owners in attendance were being tabulated by employees of Community Systems Associates, Inc., the engineering consultants hired by the Authority.

That hearing proved to be the turning point in the assessment tax war. The board's arrogant pro-tax vote would eventually turn out to be a Pyrrhic victory. In the meantime, the anti-taxers had begun winning elsewhere. On July 8, the Buena Park School District had

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voted against following their brethren into the abyss. On July 24, as I mentioned above, Fullerton's school board turned down the tax. By the time Fullerton Joint Union High School District set a public hearing on a tax proposal for July 30, the voter heat that had been building since Orange Unified had reached scorching

The ultimate objective of this prolonged campaign for higher taxes is Proposition 13. Thirteen, to liberal statists, is like sunlight to vampires.

temperatures. In the weeks before their hearing, the Fullerton Joint Union board received nearly 1,000 letters and calls of protest. They got the message. Two hours before the 8 p.m. public hearing, the board held a special meeting to "terminate the establishment of an assessment district under the Landscaping and Lighting Act of 1972." Residents who arrived ready for action at the hearing were greeted instead with flyers announcing the board's about-face and cancellation of the meeting. That same day, the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association filed a lawsuit against the Orange Unified School District, charging them with misusing the Landscaping and Lighting Act and violating the intent of Proposition 13. I, for my part, authored legislation that would require a two-thirds vote before any school or community college district could impose an assessment district. Furthermore, it would require existing school maintenance assessment districts to be renewed by a two-thirds vote of the people.

THE SCHOOL tax fever began to break on August 6, when the West Orange County Schools Finance Authority, unaccustomed to the intense political heat, voted to rescind its two-week-old tax. They cited the Board of Realtors lawsuit, my proposed legislation, and the burgeoning recall movement as reasons for their reversal. "We have some very excellent board members...and I would hate to think that the screaming hyenas would use this one issue to wipe that away," said sanctimonious Authority member Dr. Jerry Sullivan, simultaneously insulting the property owners and belittling their concerns.

Once the West Orange County Schools Finance Authority capitulated, the remaining dominoes fell quickly. Within 30 seconds of its call to order of August 9, the Placentia-Yorba Linda Unified School District board unanimously voted to rescind their tax. "You completely disregarded us," Placentia resident Peter Kahrilas told the board after they rescinded. Board member Barbara Williams scolded her colleagues for their previous pro-tax votes, enjoining them to demonstrate greater "responsiveness and wisdom" in the future. Orange Unified, the board that started it all, kept its face turned into the anti-tax wind until its August 16 meeting. Then it unanimously rescinded its $30 tax so quickly it violated parliamentary procedure and had to re-rescind. The old damn-the-torpedoes defiance had not gone out of the board completely, however. It also voted to put the tax to a vote in November 1992.

WHAT'S THE explanation for this summer-long fiasco? For one thing, the board members involved didn't anticipate the vehement citizen reaction to the assessment districts. After all, how many voters actually pay attention to what happens on the school board? A second factor was simply bad timing. The school boards made their move just as Gov. Wilson and the Democrat leadership in the Legislature were socking the populace with an array of new taxes, including a huge hike in the sales tax. People were angry, and the school boards were a more accessible target than a remote governor miles away in Sacramento. Thirdly, and most importantly, the school boards' approach was all wrong. Had they gone to property owners saying, "Look, we're in ter-

(Please turn to page 31)

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Conversations in the Tenderloin

Homosexuals are made, not born, believes Bret Lutz, although "it seems like you're born with it because it can start so young." Bret is among those who are "recovering."

by
Tom Bethell

BRET LUTZ was getting ready to go jogging in the Tenderloin, south of Market Street in San Francisco. You could see the Bay Bridge from his window. First he opened his Bible and read a passage from St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans:

> For this reason, God gave them over to degrading passions; for their women exchanged the natural function for that which is unnatural; and in the same way the men abandoned the natural function of the woman and burned in their desire toward one another, men with men committing indecent acts, and receiving in their own persons the due penalty of their error.

Bret grew up in Davenport, Iowa. He arrived in San Francisco in 1987, when he was 24. He was "kind of seduced" at the age of 12 by a family friend when camping, and since then has had homosexual encounters with literally hundreds of men. In 1988 he found out that he was HIV-positive — the big crisis in his life. But when he read the passage from St. Paul, what crossed his mind was not so much the "penalty" as the "error": the thought that God does allow us to act freely, does respect our free will, but that often we make incorrect choices.

Growing up, he had almost no exposure to religion. His family went to church for weddings and funerals; all he knew about Jesus was what he saw on television. No religion at all in public school, or the University of Iowa, which he attended for three years. Nonetheless, he became a Christian in 1981. A few years later, he told a Bible study group in Iowa about his struggles with homosexuality. They were shocked by what he told them — they were afraid of being "contaminated," he says, and they asked him to leave the group. At that point he became very rebellious and angry at the Christian community and soon after moved to San Francisco.

He found a job working as a secretary for a law firm and he circulated within the gay community. He felt he had no choice — it was a sanctuary and everyone accepted him. Maybe God had meant him to be gay. So he resigned himself to the lifestyle. But still, he could not find Gay Nirvana in the Gay Mecca. There was a lot of drinking and drugs, as well as sex. "Then — maybe it was the inner voice of God," he told me. "It struck me, men and men aren't supposed to have sex together. We're not designed that way. And it doesn't fulfill my desire to be more masculine or to be loved or accepted. It's just an empty act."

SO ONCE again he got in touch with Christian groups — ministries loosely affiliated with Exodus, which seeks to "communicate the message of liberation from homosexuality through repentance and faith in Jesus Christ as Savior and Lord," to quote from the masthead of its publication, *Exodus Standard*. In 1988, a friend referred Bret to Calvary Chapel in San Francisco, where they helped Christians who "wanted to leave the gay lifestyle." There was group counseling, therapy to examine the roots of homosexuality, prayer, worship, references to Biblical authority, and so on. "Calvary accepted me without judgment," Bret says. "So now I can help other people." In San Francisco, he says, he has found a "peace and stability" that he couldn't find in Iowa.

Homosexuality is a "maladaptive coping mechanism," Bret says. Like others in his position, he is given to psychological discourse and analysis of parental sex roles. Homosexuals are made, not born, he is con-

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Tom Bethell is Washington correspondent of The American Spectator *and a media fellow at the Hoover Institution. This article originally appeared as Mr. Bethell's "Capitol Ideas" column in the October 1991 issue of* The American Spectator.

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vinced. "It seems like you're born with it because it can start so young." Anyway, now he is "recovering" and "learning" heterosexuality — like learning a new language. And he is making an experimental movie about the "gay and Christian communities," and traits they have in common.

"I'M LEAVING the gay lifestyle but not rejecting my many friends who are gay. But I have also chosen not to engage in sex with men." This has been difficult, because he had become "massively addicted." He keeps a log of his temptations — it's part of the therapy. Homosexuality is one thing and sexual addiction another, he says, "but in combination they can be very powerful."

"Sexual addiction is an area we are hearing more and more about," says Bob Davies, editor of the *Exodus Standard* and executive director of Exodus International, in San Rafael, California. "Many homosexual men have developed such an appetite that it's very difficult for them to stop, even though they desperately wish they could, even though they know it can kill them." The San Francisco papers report rising rates of HIV infection among younger gays. Safe-sex slogans and condom promotion add their own encouragement, of course.

Davies says that homosexuality was something he had to deal with in his own life. Now he has been married for six years. Interest in Exodus and related Christian ministries is rising. He receives several hundred inquiries a month; 550 people participated in their latest conference, in Toronto. But homosexuality itself is also increasing, he believes, since it is correlated with (increasing) family breakdown. "We don't believe it's inborn or genetic," he says. He calls it an emotional disorder that finds "unnatural" expression.

ALSO RISING is the antagonism of gay activists to the suggestion that homosexuality can be reversed. Exodus and affiliates have received bomb threats and had their tires slashed. Obscene phone calls are routine. If there's any press coverage of their meetings, it will almost certainly ignore Exodus and describe a disruptive invasion by ACT-UP or some other group. "I can't tell you the number of interviews that I've done that have never appeared in print," says Davies. *Time* interviewed him at length, but nothing appeared in the magazine.

Ever since the American Psychiatric Association reversed itself in 1973 and ceased to classify homosexuality as a mental illness, it has been dogma among the major media that homosexuality calls for deferential, even outright favorable, coverage. Since then, homosexuals have been accorded victim status and accusation privileges. In urging the psychiatric association to reverse itself, Dr. J. Marmor, a high-ranking official of the APA, said that calling homosexuality disordered was a "misuse of psychiatry" with detrimental "social consequences" for its practitioners. The National Gay Task Force hailed this subordination of science to politics as the "greatest gay victory." Are they celebrating in the AIDS wards, one wonders? How much subsequent homosexual practice was encouraged by this medical misguidance?

AT THE time of the Democratic National Convention in 1984, the Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence, a group of homosexuals dressed as nuns, conducted demonstrations against normal society and family life, which they characterized as bigoted and homophobic. One of their leaders was Jack Fertig, known as "Sister Boom Boom." By the time of the Pope's visit to San Francisco in 1987, however, Fertig had renounced drugs, alcohol, and "the sisters," whom he called "a

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bunch of drunken party queens." (Many of them have since died of AIDS.) He was by then interested in the cult of *santería*, which, he said, symbolized his "pagan background" and his "Christian search."

I phoned him in August. He too lives in the Tenderloin. No, he said, he didn't really want to be interviewed. He was making a living, if barely, writing articles about astrology. His mother's background was Catholic, his father's Jewish. He is a Christian, he said, and he attends an "Anglo-Catholic" church in San Francisco. His thoughts about the Catholic Church? "Which Catholic Church?" The Roman. "Very mixed feelings." He could write a book on that. He recommended that I talk to the people at Dignity (pro-gay Catholics), or "the many gay parishioners at Most Holy Redeemer Church," in the Castro district. The government was still "obstructing" the search for an AIDS cure, he thought. His own health was fine, but he wouldn't say whether he had taken the HIV test. He broke free from defensive maneuvers and spread his wings a little when I mentioned the Pope: "There's something ludicrous about a middle-aged ex-actor in a long white gown, a bejewelled ring, and a big gold hat who accepts condemnation of homosexuality."

JIM JOHNSON doesn't like the term "ex-gay," calling himself "a homosexually oriented man who has repudiated the lifestyle." He says: "The word 'gay' is used by militant homosexuals to indoctrinate our culture into believing that there is a subculture that doesn't really exist. It's actually a group of deviations." Johnson, 43, is a pastoral assistant to Courage, an organization founded in 1980 by Father John Harvey at the request of the late Cardinal Cooke of New York, and headquartered at St. Michael's Rectory, New York City. Today, Courage helps homosexuals in 15 North American dioceses "to live chaste lives in accordance with the Roman Catholic Church's teaching on homosexuality" and "to live lives that may serve as good examples to other homosexuals." It's fair to say that Courage and its message have been completely overlooked by the news media.

IN 1987, Johnson received lots of favorable publicity when he opened a hospice for people with AIDS in Long Beach, California. There were TV crews galore and a lengthy article in the *Los Angeles Times*. *People* magazine described him as looking "a bit like Tom Selleck — big, fit, muscular, mustachioed." For a while, however, very few seemed to grasp that Johnson had embraced chastity and abstinence. Meanwhile, he became uncomfortably well informed, at first hand, about the sexual proclivities of various ecclesiastical folk. When the pro-gay Dignity people found out, they went to the media with negative reports on the turncoat. Johnson's hospice was found to be in violation of various health and safety codes. "When they found out that I had changed my lifestyle they considered me a traitor," Johnson says. Today he travels about, advocating chastity to various groups. Gay activists, Queer Nation, and ACT-UP show up to harass him if they can find out where he is; if not, they content themselves with threats and obscene phone calls.

Frontiers, a homosexual publication, recently published a four-page article attacking "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Johnson." Here is a sample quote from Johnson, cited in the article, showing why gay groups don't like him:

> The AIDS crisis, instead of hurting their cause, has given [homosexuals] millions of federal, state, and local taxpayer dollars. Homosexuals now have the power to go into our schools and under the pretense of AIDS education present homosexuality as a normal, healthy alternative lifestyle to our children. They are being put in charge of AIDS commissions, again using their position not to stop AIDS but to promote their anti-family, pro-homosexual agenda.

Johnson was molested by a neighbor at the age of five and later had many homosexual encounters. In the course of several conversations, he told me a number of shocking stories. Here is one of the nicer ones. He went to see Archbishop John Quinn of San Francisco, hoping to start a Courage chapter there. "My heart bled

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for him. But he's a captive prince. He was very sympathetic, gave me 45 minutes of his time. Then he said: 'There's people downstairs that I have to deal with.' He asked me to put it in writing. I did, but I never heard from him again. He's held captive by the people who run that building."

Also rising is the antagonism of gay activists to the suggestion that homosexuality can be reversed. Exodus and affiliates have received bomb threats and had their tires slashed. Obscene phone calls are routine.

Recently, the *New York Times* reported that, "challenged by a gay rights group and the United Way in the San Francisco Bay Area to end its practice of banning homosexuals, the Boy Scouts of America agreed to develop a youth program that will allow gay members, atheists, and girls." A United Way vice president, John Stafford, was quoted as saying: "This is a sign that the Boy Scouts are not absolutely steadfast in hewing to their old line." But the capitulation still didn't go far enough to please the United Way, apparently. In Florida, United Way has funded a public service message "counseling" teenagers that "sexual orientation is not a choice, it's a given."

"That's shameful," Johnson says of the Boy Scout decision. "They didn't have to compromise their principles. I don't know how many homosexuals that I would trust in those close encounters with boys or young men. Including myself." Johnson avoids "one-on-one counseling," knowing how many "transgressions" there have been in such situations. The only way to resist the temptation is to stay away from it. He is concerned that, in both the Boy Scouts and the U.S. military, innocent but naive young men could be "focused into the lifestyle" by coming into contact with non-innocent, predatory gay men.

"Predatory" is a word he uses reluctantly, but he feels it can't be avoided. Precisely because it is learned rather than inborn, homosexuality can be spread by proselytizers masquerading as educators, using pornographic material masquerading as graphic. Impressionable young men can be recruited by exposure to the disorder.

JOHNSON'S MESSAGE is that homosexuality is sometimes contagious, but also curable. "Disengaging from the lifestyle is possible, and highly healthy for the spiritual and psychological life of the person striving in that direction." (He recommends Dr. Joseph Nicolosi's new book *Reparative Therapy of Male Homosexuality*.) It is "difficult to overcome" such addictive behavior, he says, but with professional help, chastity, and "a spiritual base" it can be done. "Discipline, and God, will attain the rest." (Reprinted with permission. © The American Spectator) CPR

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Criticus

Of Kings' Gardens

G.B. Tennyson

SOME YEARS ago I met a traveller from what even the meanest and most resolutely liberal mind now recognizes as an antique land, though at the time such minds still liked to believe it was the land of the future. But my traveller had in fact been over to see the past and found that it did not work. I refer, of course, to a visitor to the then Soviet Union. She also happens to be my wife. Like all sensible people with eyes to see and ears to hear (no offense to the blind and the hearing-impaired, of course), she noted the endless queues, the empty shops, the crumbling apartment blocks, the scurvy produce (when any could be found), the poor to insolent service on wobbly aircraft (a four- to five-hour flight from the Black Sea to St. Petersburg [as I called it even then] produced a single cup of apple juice by way of refreshment; and of course the plane landed much as the first flight at Kitty Hawk must have done — with a great deal of bounce), and indeed the generally tatterdemalion character of what was in every respect except the military a third world nation.

APART FROM guns, what did it produce but millions of copies of those babushka-looking dolls that fit one inside the other, offered for sale in the shops that accepted only hard, i.e., foreign, i.e., real, currency — objects of use solely to designers of credits for television productions of those morally ambiguous John Le Carré novels. (Will he and Graham Greene now be retired as political gurus?)

But withal, that visitor did bring me back a treasure. It was a leaden statuette, approximately one foot high, of Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, known to after-times as Nicolai Lenin. It was the classic Lenin statue. We see the great figure in strong, striding motion, overcoat slung over the shoulders but arms swinging free from it, as if to show that he was too hurried to don the coat in the conventional manner and at the same time as if to give the appearance of a cloak, such as might grace a renaissance prince. The Supreme Leader is hatless in this version, as opposed to the ones in which he sports the natty, but somewhat downmarket, worker's cap. His face bears that socialist-realist expression of firm resolve with just a hint of a smile: a man with a mission, a man bent on going and getting his way.

Needless to say, I found this statuette irresistible, morbidly mirth-making. It was, in the language of the Decadent West, high camp, something to put to shame the worst excesses of religious piety, with their bleeding hearts and garish phosphorescent colors. For these latter spring at least from genuine devotion, however misconceived some of the artistry might be. But the Leaden Lenin springs from fear and trembling. If, to adopt the thinking of "Republican Reptile" P.J. O'Rourke, Santa Claus is a Democrat and God is a Republican, (with O'Rourke's added insight that, alas, Santa Claus does not exist [You see, I've saved you reading *Parliament of Whores*]), then surely the Devil is a Communist. And Marx is his Prophet and Lenin his St. Paul, if I may mix religions. Or was. For Lenin has all come tumbling down. Of which more in a moment.

BACK TO the statuette. Recognizing it at once as a western rarity, even if an eastern commonplace (Soviet factories turned these out by the carload, just as they made similar ones of Felix Dhzerzinsky, founder of the KGB; and oh, to have one of those!), I decided to display my Leaden Lenin in my office as a means to *épater les bourgeois*, and by that I mean the true bourgeois, the ones who don't think they are, viz., academics, whose astonishment would come not so much, if at all, from the existence or absurdity of the statuette but from who possessed and was displaying it. My scheme worked. Few there were in the groves of academe who did not do a double-take in my direction. Was I putting them on?

Occasionally, I would paint the lily by festooning Lenin with campaign buttons, such as "Jesse Jackson for President," but this was de-

G. B. Tennyson is professor of English at U.C.L.A. and co-editor of Nineteenth-Century Literature.

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scending to slapstick, so I generally remained with the unadorned object. To be sure, I realized early on that I should keep Lenin well back of my desk and atop a cabinet, that is, out of easy reach, lest, as I explained to the curious, he should be stolen by a Marxist colleague and made the object of veneration.

BUT IN the fullness of time, the office was redecorated and repainted (fear not, taxpayers: this was the first such undertaking in 30 years, for we are not talking here about administrative offices). I had no concern whatsoever that the actual workers doing the painting and plastering and the like would even recognize, let alone covet, my modern-day Russian ikon; academics yes, workers no. Nevertheless, to preserve my treasure from stray drops of paint or cigarette ash (there still were cigarettes then) I brought Lenin home, gravely(!) wrapped in a box, and stored him in the garage. He still reposes there, not as in the Red Square tomb, for I can't seem to locate him, but then my garage has long been the dustheap of my past life, and it's more or less impossible to find anything there that's smaller than an automobile.

But the point, constant readers, is that of course my action was prophetic: two or more years before the event I had toppled the statue of Lenin and laid him on the dustheap of history. When I saw those glorious color pictures of sky-high monolithic Lenins lying in heaps in public parks all over the Baltics and even within the remaining united Soviet Republics, and even in Moscow itself (where also a massive socialist-realist Dhzerzinsky was levelled in his eponymous Square) I felt like an obeah man whose sticking pins in a doll had done the trick and apparently caused the hated one to turn up dead. Oh, the drunken sense of power!

But, then, sobriety set in. It was almost saddening to see all the statues on their sides like fallen chessmen, and it was somehow different from seeing the scabrous Berlin Wall justly hacked to pieces. The statues, graceless as they often were, were at least attempts at something aesthetic, attempts to lift up the spirit, and, of course, attempts, however cynical, to praise famous men. That it was all misconceived, that the statues came to symbolize the evil that enlightened opinion keeps telling us does not exist — and thereby insures that we don't recognize it or only too late when inevitably it comes — means certainly that the statues should have come down, and indeed even come down as ignominiously as they have. It showed that the huddled masses of the USSR at least knew an Evil Empire when they saw it.

Still, there should be statues.

It was the classic Lenin statue. We see the great figure in strong, striding motion, overcoat slung over the shoulders but arms swinging free from it, as if to give the appearance of a cloak, such as might grace a renaissance prince.

WITH THAT thought in mind I took what I supposed would be a consoling stroll through the UCLA sculpture garden, one of the earliest and most extensive of this kind of public display of what I believe is a uniquely twentieth-century phenomenon, that is, not a park with statuary in it as a means of enhancing the charms of the park, but a collection of sculptured pieces around which a park has been designed, as a means of enhancing the sculptures: small berms built in order to elevate a piece for display; walkways leading nowhere except to a sculpture; sitting areas arranged around an object; landscaping disposed so as to emphasize a sculptured piece. All commendable and all resulting in an agreeable preserve, a kind of happy semi-rural seat within feet of the rush of modern life.

BUT THE consolation was tempered by something that sprang out at me for the first time. Note I have spoken only of "sculptures" in the sculpture garden. The reason is that there is practically no statuary at all. And absolutely no statue of an identifiable human being. The more I thought of the toppled Lenins, the more I noticed that modern Western sculpture has almost entirely eschewed memorial statuary and for that matter almost entirely eschewed any realistic representation of the human form. Not only are there no equestrian generals, there are scarcely any complete human or even animal bodies. I counted four fully rendered human figures, all female, two in very unrealistic styles, none of them of historical

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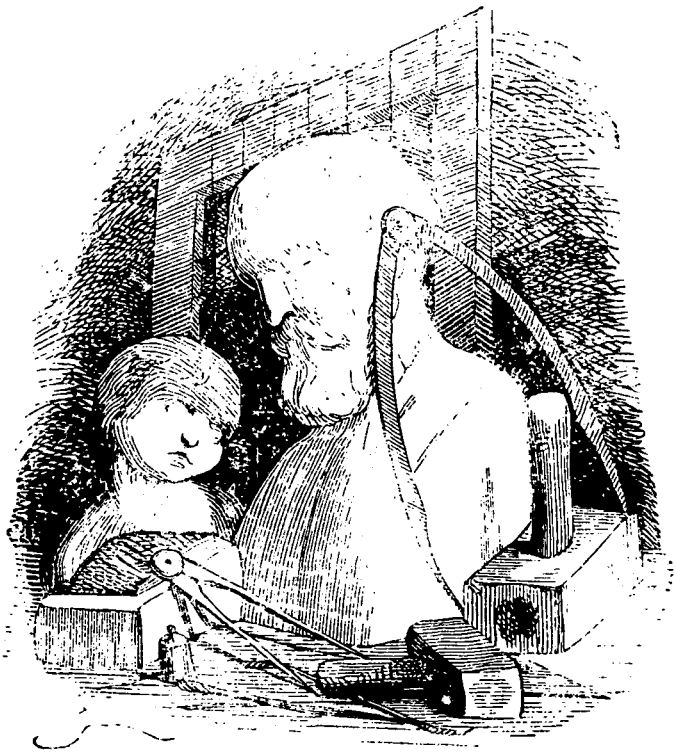

persons, though one was mythological (Freya) and the other an historical type (a Maja). There are also torsos and severed heads and more or less mutilated bodies, like Rodin's "Walking Man," which, however, I acknowledge is a disturbingly grand and powerful sculpture.

I DID NOT have my calculator, so I could not count the abstract pieces, some of them quite handsome decorations, as mere decorations go, others bogus in the extreme, but very few of the abstracts superior to the natural forms and lines of the trees and shrubs that surround them, though some had a geometric severity that, when softened by, say, water pouring through, made pleasing patterns.

A nice park, yes. But does it stand for anything? Or is its very abstractness and detachment from the human what it stands for? And does that matter? If there were a revolution here, would anyone care enough to race to the sculpture garden to cast down a miscellaneous-looking collection of pastel pipes that have been welded together at rakish angles? (I'd care enough to dispose of several items, but I'd best not specify lest my influence work upon them as it did upon Lenin and Co.) Is there any meaningful difference between rusting metal contortions fixed in place and the puckish pranks of an intentionally ephemeral Christo creation strung along a ridge of the Tehachapis?

Perhaps what we really need — and if I were a rich man I'd cheerfully endow it — is a yet newer, twenty-first century idea that is all my own: a statuary (note, not a sculpture) garden, containing all the toppled statues of discredited leaders of the twentieth century, a multitude that must surely outnumber those of all other previous centuries put together. A devil's playground, as it were, but also a school where the impulses from steel and concrete along with those from Wordsworth's vernal wood would teach us more of moral evil and of good than all the sages can. There ought somewhere to be a right-thinking magnate — a non-humbug Armand Hammer, to coin an oxymoron — who could desist for a season or two from supporting all those crypto-Marxist foundations named after capitalists that are still mindlessly dedicated to the destruction of the West and instead invest in buying up for a song the fallen memorials that are strewn all over eastern Europe and the many that one hopes are to come throughout Africa. If only we could convince such a Maecenas that a statuary garden like this would be a true intellectual theme park and, yea, a money-maker. Disneyland for the mind. Of course, a genuine philanthropist would donate it to the world as a free admission shrine.

AS A STARTER I'd be willing to poke around in that dustheap of history that is my garage and find my Leaden Lenin to let it be the first occupant of what I think we should call the Garden of Ozymandias.

WATCHED/WATCHFUL WORDS

Note for constant readers of this feature: as promised in the previous number, Criticus is preparing his guidelines on how to coin Watchful Words on one's own. Watch for it in a future number. CPR

BOOKS

Resetting Their Watches

Under Fire, by Oliver L. North, HarperCollins, New York, 446 pages, $25.00, cloth.

Reviewed by William E. Saracino

TO GET directly to the point of most interest, Oliver North does not provide a "smoking gun" regarding Ronald Reagan's knowledge of the Iran-Contra affair. The press has it wrong and has gone

William E. Saracino, a political consultant, shares quarters with a Siamese cat named "Ollie."

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out of its way to sensationalize that aspect of Colonel North's book. Sure, you have a hard time believing that about our media, but trust me on this one.

What Ollie North does say is that he "believes" Ronald Reagan knew about the plan. He emphatically states he does not "know," one way or the other. North says he has a hard time believing that Bill Casey, director of the CIA and one of Ronald Reagan's closest friends, did not mention this project to the president. Frankly, I agree with Ollie. But what he only alludes to and what the media totally ignore is the time-honored tradition of "plausible deniability," whereby a chief executive or other decision maker can honestly say that he did not know *exactly* what was going on while his subordinates were carrying out his policies.

Not only does that explanation fit perfectly with Ronald Reagan's management style, it is also *the most intelligent way he could have gone about this operation*. What the press has been headlining about this book is basically North stating the obvious and most logical explanation for the whole affair.

The book as a whole devotes so much detail to covering Iran-Contra that it will probably lose readers who are not political junkies before they plow through all 416 pages of text. That will be too bad, because a complete reading of the book gives you an excellent understanding of the "complete" Oliver North, from idyllic Texas childhood to tough times at Annapolis; through a near breakup of his marriage in the 1970s to the dedicated soldier willing to stare down his interrogators on the Congressional Iran-Contra committee.

THE BOOK also illustrates other aspects of North's career before Iran-Contra, showing that he deserved the appellation "hero" long before he made monkeys out of his Democrat inquisitors. Many people have forgotten (or never knew) that it was North who was the mastermind behind the hunting down and capturing of the terrorists responsible for the *Achille Lauro* hijacking and the murder of American Leon Klinghoffer. Neither do they know of his many other activities coordinating the anti-terrorist actions of the Reagan Administration — actions which brought about a dramatic decline in violent terrorist activities around the globe.

It is easy to forget just how desperate the world situation had become after four years of the horse-toothed wonder from Plains, Georgia.

The world has become so small, and events happen so fast, that it is easy for us to forget just how desperate the world situation had become after four years of the horse-toothed wonder from Plains, Georgia. Communism was on the march, America and the West in retreat. We had been run out of Vietnam, sold out the Shah, and watched helplessly as the Soviet empire established beachheads in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, and Grenada. There was talk of the breakup of NATO as a result of America losing its credibility as an ally. The best days of the United States, we were told, were behind us. Then along came Ronald Reagan — who brought along with him dedicated men and women like Oliver North. This book is worth reading if for no other reason then to revisit the nightmare that was the late 1970s and to remind ourselves how far we have come. The forces that drove the Soviets out of Afghanistan, crumbled the Berlin Wall, liberated Grenada and Nicaragua, and made freedom the watchword of the world were set into motion on November 4, 1980, the day Reagan was elected president.

UNDER FIRE is an excellent, albeit highly detailed, study of those years. For slogging through the details, one is rewarded with some real gems, however. These include character studies of most of the prominent members of Reagan's administrations, as well as some chilling anecdotes, such as that North, Bud McFarlane, and the rest of the "secret mission" to Iran in 1986 actually received poison pills before they left the United States. No, it doesn't happen just in spy novels.

I suppose what will be of most interest to conservatives is whether or not the book can be used as the

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press has been attempting to use it — as another arrow in their anti-Reagan, anti-Reaganism, anti-decade of the '80s quiver. A full and fair reading of the book leads the reader to *exactly* the opposite conclusion.

BUT IS Oliver North personally disappointed with Ronald Reagan? You bet he is, and with good reason. North makes that point repeatedly — and poignantly — several places in the manuscript. Reagan should have pardoned North *and every other defendant* of Iran-Contra before he left office. That he didn't is a stain on his administration (though the blame for it most likely belongs to "Mommy" or Don Regan or both). Does North still revere Reagan for restoring America and re-invigorating freedom around the globe? You bet he does, and any reviewer who says otherwise is twisting the facts or hasn't read the entire book.

In the last chapter, Ollie talks of how he did his best during his years in the White House to "keep faith with two groups whom I cared about deeply, and whose fate President Reagan had put at the top of his agenda: our hostages in Lebanon and the Contras." In the course of the ensuing discussion, he quotes from a 1990 campaign speech of Violeta Chamorro, now president of Nicaragua, then the anti-Sandinista (dare one say: pro-Reagan?) candidate. "Set your watches," Mrs. Chamorro told her audiences. "Set them to the same hour as Poland, Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia. Set them to the same hour as Chile, because this is the time of democracy and freedom."

INDEED, IN the last few years oppressed people around the globe have been resetting their watches, with the hour of democracy and freedom finally at hand. Without the efforts of Ronald Reagan and Oliver North, these newly-freed millions would surely still be enduring the socialist slavery of their workers' paradises. They are not. They have joined the brotherhood of free peoples.

Thank you Ron. Thank you Ollie. And well done, thou good and faithful servants.

Charades, White Lies, and Hypocrisies

Parliament of Whores, P.J. O'Rourke, Atlantic Monthly Press, New York, 233 pages, $19.95, cloth.

Reviewed by Peter Hannaford

WITH THE possible exception of the columnist Dave Barry, P.J. O'Rourke is the funniest writer in America today. They mine different fields. Barry gets us rolling in laughter by magnifying — to the point of absurdity — the foibles and incongruities of daily life, while O'Rourke makes us laugh uproariously over the doings of the people who pass the laws that govern our daily lives — the politicians.

Public life in America involves a great many elaborate conventions, charades, white lies, and hypocrisies which everyone involved understands but no one is supposed to talk about. O'Rourke upsets the apple cart by exposing many of them.

He begins reassuringly for conservatives by telling us in a preface why God is a Republican and Santa Claus is a Democrat. Reassurance ends there. Virtually no one — not even President Bush — escapes O'Rourke's barbed pen.

The author goes after the way we elect presidents, the presidency, Congress, the Supreme Court, and big government in general. "Giving money and power to government is

Peter Hannaford is chairman of The Hannaford Company, a public relations firm based in Washington, D.C.

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like giving whiskey and car keys to teenage boys," he warns.

Nothing about government policy is sacred to O'Rourke. "U.S. farm policy," he writes, "is, along with North Korea and the Stanford liberal arts faculty, one of the world's last outposts of anti-free-market dogmatism." Addressing the subject of U.S. foreign policy, he says, "Any prolonged examination of the U.S. government reveals foreign policy to be America's miniature schnauzer — a noisy, but small and useless part of the national household."

A sampling of O'Rourke's chapter headings gives the reader a good preview of the road ahead: "Attack of the Midget Vote-Suckers," "The Three Branches of Government: Money, Television and Bull___t," "Would You Kill Your Mother to Pave I-95?" and "Special Interest Groups — The Original Barrel of Monkeys That Nothing Can be More Fun Than."

WHEN HE writes, "The good news is I balanced the budget. It took me all morning, but I did it.," you settle back, expecting another round of chuckles. You get them, but you soon begin to think to yourself: some of this is not as preposterous as it seems.

Using the FY 1991 federal budget as his guide, O'Rourke cuts $282.8 billion. He pares from several categories, using fist-in-the-solar-plexus logic ("I just lowered food prices by eliminating food subsidies, so I can also cut 'food and nutrition assistance' by 50 percent"). He raises revenue, too, by eliminating various tax deductions (he seems to be a flat-tax man), thus turning the "Bush Budget" deficit of $63.1 billion to the "PJ Budget" surplus of $555.2 billion.

While O'Rourke is entertaining us, his eye for detail and the underlying truths of events observed gives the reader some sharp reminders that policies intended to do good often produce opposite results. Especially telling are his visit to a federal housing project in Newark, New Jersey, and a Guardian Angel drug raid in the South Bronx.

"Giving money and power to government is like giving whiskey and car keys to teenage boys," O'Rourke warns.

One chapter, "Defense Policy: Cry 'Havoc' and Let Slip the Hogs of Peace" was written in Spring 1990 and thus overtaken by events in Kuwait and Iraq. The chapter recounts his trip on a naval missile cruiser and, despite being both funny and informative, it reads as if it had been written for another context.

THIS IS a quibble, however, for the book, overall, achieves its objective: to disarm us with laughter so we will think again about things we may have taken for granted. O'Rourke is a feet-on-the-ground conservative whose ideas are rooted in common sense. He grew up in a Midwestern family where making ends meet was Job One. His philosophy is rooted in the belief that each person is responsible for his or her actions. Thus, it is sobering when one gets to the end of the book to learn who are the real whores. CPR

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Socialism in One County

(Continued from page 15)

pose a "timber yield tax surcharge" to pay for the expanded review and approval process.

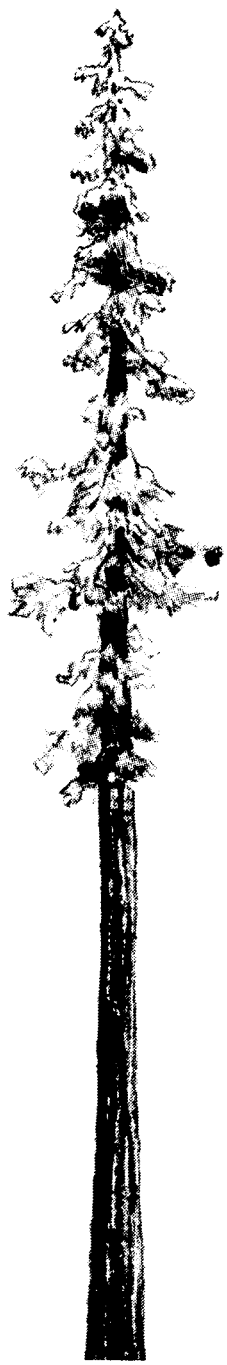
Taking a look at Coase's "total effects," what would be gained in return for all this? Suppose we consult Senate Majority Leader (and AB 860 supporter) Barry Keene, who represents Humboldt, and who, in a remarkable speech given in Eureka October 5, laid out the arguments for AB 860 as he saw them. Bear in mind, this guy *supported* the bill.

Keene spoke of how, since the mid-1980s, he had been concerned about "political trouble brewing over reports of intensified timber harvesting.

"What mattered was not so much the reports as the perception they generated outside our area, real or not," Keene said, displaying his own keen appreciation for the sheer disconnectedness of politics from reality. He went on: "I recommended coming up with a sustained yield formula to rebut any perception of overcutting, and support industry claims they were operating under sustained yield." Notice that he did not dispute these industry claims. He wanted to prove them to the world. Alas, he said, "my advice was discounted," which set the stage for AB 860.

KEENE SAID its authors all wanted a bill that would "deal with the real or perceived need to strengthen forest practices — and avoid a disastrous initiative." This worry about a "disastrous initiative," presumably on the 1992 ballot, is a recurring theme in Keene's speech. For instance, in talking about differences of opinion on the provisions their bill should contain, Keene said, "One school of thought was that the legislation had to be scientifically sound. That might keep those directly involved in forestry happy — but how could it stop a killer initiative based on emotions and perceptions giving rise to a political tidal wave of environmentalism that was about to swamp us?" Does the Senator know that Big Green lost?

"A second school of thought," Keene continued, "was that the legislation had to satisfy mainstream environmentalists to keep them from launching a second initiative. The flaw in that thinking was that it would give environmental groups a virtual veto over the substance of any legislation — no matter how economically damaging to the North Coast. And that was unacceptable."



SO A "compromise" was struck, one that, Keene said, "*might not* satisfy the scientific concerns of professional foresters....But it *would* give us a reasonable chance of defeating an initiative." Thus the two parties to this dispute, as described by liberal Democrat Barry Keene: on one side — science — and, in the opposition — mainstream environmentalists.

"My main concern," Keene said, "was the swelling *political* tidal wave, for which a *scientific* argument is no breakwater.

"Nor could I say the new legislation would not *economically* hurt the North Coast in the short term. At some level, in the short term, it could." (Keene's emphases throughout.) About here, contemplating the sad situation he was describing, Keene almost broke down completely: "What we faced was the choice between injury and death," he said. "It reminds me of the battlefield surgeon telling the soldier he'll die if his leg is not amputated. It's a terrible price to pay — but what's the alternative?"

You guessed it: a "disastrous initiative."

Think how reassured Keene's constituents must have felt after hearing their *good* alternative compared to a battlefield leg amputation — *especially* considering that the surgeon has just told the soldier his leg is actually fine, but must come off anyway because mainstream opinion mistakenly believes it is gangrenous. Where would we be without the compassion of liberals?

Sen. Keene's analysis spells out clearly what is to be balanced and it is equally clearly *not* a question of the environment vs. industry or forests vs. jobs. It is politics vs. reason, radical ideology vs. property rights, stultifying socialism vs. a functioning community that, with Coasian rationality, might have a fighting chance to sort out and balance its concerns for a Humboldt County that is *both* beautiful *and* productive. CPR

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Orange County Cries Tax Revolt!

(Continued from page 19)

rible financial straits. This is how much we need and this is what it's for. We'd like your input and support in trying to raise money" and then put the matter to a vote, they might well have prevailed handily. Instead, they were sneaky and arrogant, apparently hoping no one would notice, and dismissing anyone who objected as anti-education.

Actually, considering the culture of tax-and-spend that has enveloped government bureaucracy at every level, it's not surprising that the school districts acted as they did. They had plenty of role models to emulate. Port Hueneme's municipal government, for instance, decided residents who enjoyed a pleasant view of the ocean should pay for the privilege. The amount of one's levy was determined by the niceness of one's view. The city authorities disingenuously maintained this was not a "view" tax, but merely a fee for beach maintenance. This microscopic distinction was lost on property owners, who rightly discerned they were being taxed simply because they could see the Pacific Ocean from their homes.

CITY GOVERNMENTS have imposed or raised all manner of fees on every sort of service. Cable and utility taxes are favorites. When residents understandably object, the city typically huffs that if the sorely needed tax weren't enacted, the authorities would be forced to reduce police and fire services, endangering neighborhood safety. It's an old trick: call for more money, then, when the citizens grow angry, cry that some popular municipal services will have to go, preferably something high profile like garbage collection. Or lay off the lowest-paid county employees. TV reporters love interviewing unemployed janitors about the hardships imposed on them by greedy taxpayers.

Of course, the biggest kick in the pants came from our friends in Sacramento in July. They first created a $14 billion deficit, then "closed" it with $8 billion in new levies and $6 billion in "tough" spending cuts — cuts that still somehow left us with a budget billions of dollars larger than last year's. Now, of course, the whole deal is unraveling as the Pollyanna-ish economic projections made by the budget planners fail to materialize. Less than three months after this "historic" budget passed, billion dollar gaps are already appearing, which should surprise no one. Economist Arthur Laffer predicted that the budget will prompt a five percent decrease in economic growth in the decade. The upshot: We are going to find ourselves in the same bind in 1992, as is already becoming appparent. This Frankenstein monster is loose and heading for town. The day of reckoning is near.

BUT THE ultimate objective of those conducting this prolonged campaign for more and higher taxes, the symbol of everything they hate, is Proposition 13. Thirteen, to liberal statists, is like sunlight to vampires. The Senate Commission on Property Tax Equity and Revenue has developed proposals that would emasculate Proposition 13. The commission's key recommendations: abolishing the two-thirds vote rule for enacting special taxes; eliminating the two percent cap on annual property value reassessment, the very device that rescues homeowners from the debilitating effects of inflation on their property taxes; initiating split rolls for business and residential property; and ending the protection of inherited properties from market value reassessment when passing from parents to children. (This last is a backdoor way of reintroducing inheritance taxes.)

These various plans and forays have not passed unnoticed by the sheep targeted for fleecing. Their discontent was explosively revealed when the school districts tried to impose property taxes. Accustomed to operating in relative obscurity, the school boards were clearly unprepared for the firestorm of taxpayer fury that descended upon their heads. Those boards that initially ignored voter protestations soon crumbled in the face of a withering public counter-attack of lawsuit threats and recall movements. Every school board in Orange County eventually rescinded the new tax.

CLEARLY, ANOTHER tax revolt is brewing, beside which the 1978 revolt may pale in comparison. However, two conditions are necessary for such a revolt to ignite and to succeed permanently. First, it needs leaders to give it focus. In 1978, Howard Jarvis focused voter anger on soaring property taxes. Now, Californians are being hit from so many directions at so many levels it is difficult to find a particular target. Inspired leadership will need to provide direction. Secondly, it is not enough for Californians simply to oppose excessive taxation. They must also reject the idea of the bureaucratic welfare state, because it is the psychology of the welfare state that creates high taxes. Without such a philosophical sea change, we will be forced to stage new tax revolts every 10 years. CPR

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Worth Repeating

He (or She) Would Be 23 . . .

by Bill Stout

DOCTORS AND theologians are usually the only men who argue the abortion issue. Mostly, it's a women's debate. On one side, "We have the right to control our own bodies," and on the other: "It's a human life and killing is wrong."

But I had a jolt recently that set me thinking seriously, personally, about abortion for the first time in more than 20 years. I suspect it was a shock that has hit a great many men, although few ever talk about it.

It came late on a Friday afternoon. When I started out for a business meeting on the far side of Los Angeles, the radio was full of "sigalerts." It seemed logical to skip the freeway mess and loaf across the city on the side streets. Easy enough, until even that oozing pace of traffic squeezed to a dead stop because of an accident at the corner of Beverly and Vermont. There my eye caught the window of a second floor office, and it hit me like a knee in the groin.

That office, in a building I hadn't even noticed in many years, was where I had taken my new bride for an abortion one blistering summer day in 1952. Suddenly I remembered . . . and I re-lived every detail.

We had been married two years and did not consider ourselves poor, but we were close. We had an old car, a few dollars in the bank, and I had a temporary job writing news stories for radio announcers. And she was pregnant.

WE HAD argued for more than a week after her first cautious announcement. I had adopted her young son by a previous marriage, but this would be our first baby together, and I was delighted. Minutes later I was appalled, then infuriated, by her insistence she would not go through with it. Even more hurtful, I suppose, in the callowness of that encounter so long ago, was that she had talked with several women friends before telling me anything. She already had the name of the doctor and was ready to make an appointment when I would be off from work to drive her.

There was a lot of shouting and pleading that week and a good deal of pumping up (by me) of my prospects at the radio station. She pointed out that those were prospects only. She noted the sickly condition of our bankbook, plus the fact that we had 12 payments to go on our first television set. She also made the point hammered home today by the women's pro-abortion groups: it was, after all, her body, and the decision should be hers and hers alone.

THAT WAS the most painful week of our marriage, until the final anguish (of divorce) years later. Of course, she got her way. I dropped her at the curb outside the doctor's office, then pulled around the corner to park and wait. It would be 45 minutes, she said, no more than an hour at the most. She had $200 in cash in her bag. No checks were accepted.

I spent the time multiplying and dividing. How much did this doctor make per hour? Per minute? How many of these jobs could he do in a day? Or in a year? Did he take just a two week vacation so he could hurry back to the women with so many different reasons for ending pregnancies?

I can see the sign in his office window as clearly as if it were there now, just a few feet away. Seven letters; below them, "M.D." I never saw the man but I hated him then, and do to this moment, even though he died long ago.

When I saw her come out of his office, pale and wincing with each step, I leaped out of the car and ran to her. A couple of days later she was moving around with her usual energy and she made it clear that it was all over, with nothing to talk about. A year and a half later, with everything going fine in my work, she gave birth to our first baby, a normal healthy boy, and not long after that a daughter. Yet, again and again, I have found myself wondering what that first one would have been like. A boy or a girl? Blonde or brunette? A problem or a delight? Whatever kind of person the lost one might have been, I feel now that we had no right to take its life. Religion has nothing to do with that feeling. It was a "gut" response that overwhelmed me while stalled in the traffic that afternoon at Beverly and Vermont.

NOW WE were moving again. A few minutes later I was at my meeting in the office of an old friend, luckily, because by then I was in tears and they wouldn't stop. It wasn't easy but I finally told him how that glance at an office window had simply been too much for me, sweeping away a dam that had held for more than 20 years.

If I am still wondering about that first one that never was, what about other men? How many of them share my haunted feelings about children who might have been? Why are we, the fathers who never were, so reluctant to talk about such feelings? And if it can be so painful for the men, how much worse must it be for the women who nurture and then give up the very fact of life itself? Clearly, as the saying goes about wars and generals, abortion is far too important to be left to a woman and her doctor. CPR

Excerpted from the Winter 1990 Human Life Review *where this piece appeared with the following introduction: "Last December 1, Bill Stout, a veteran broadcaster, died in Los Angeles at 62. He had been with the CBS network for some 36 years; once well-known nationally, he was best known in recent years as 'the angriest voice in Los Angeles television.' The following article first appeared (both shortened and revised) in the* Los Angeles Times *on Feb. 16, 1976. We called Mr. Stout, and he sent us his original version, which we ran in our Summer 1976 issue. We think it richly deserves to be reprinted again here, in memoriam."*

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- The Budget/Deficit "Reduction" Act which imposes the biggest tax hike in history, allows spending to increase enormously and will, in fact, create a larger budget deficit next year — facts the national media conveniently obscured.
- The Americans With Disabilities Act, which created huge new classes of "disabled" people (including but not limited to: drug addicts; AIDS patients; drunks; psychotics; and maybe even transvestites) and will force employers to hire them no matter what the problem or cost.
- The outrageously expensive Clean Air Act, which will impose untold expense—conservative estimates run upwards of $100 billion—and will cost tens of thousands of jobs, yet will yield little improvement in our environment for the price.
- The New Child Care Act, which will create huge new federal bureaucracies and generate massive new regulations to solve a problem best left to individual families.
- The Ted Kennedy-sponsored "Civil Rights Act of 1990," which tried to reimpose a "quota" system in hiring, pushing us even farther away from President Reagan's dream of a "color-blind" society.
- Massive new mandated health and maternity benefit programs that will cost businesses — and, eventually, consumers — billions and may actually result in much poorer health insurance covering many workers who may not want or need it.
- Budget *increases* for the National Endowment for the Arts. Even as American taxpayers are outraged by the blasphemy and pornography sponsored by the Endowment, their budget was increased — allowing the NEA to fund even more outrageous "art."

And to top it all off, under huge pressure from the media and the liberals in Congress — and unfortunately from many within his own Administration— President Bush has now broken his pledge of "No new taxes."

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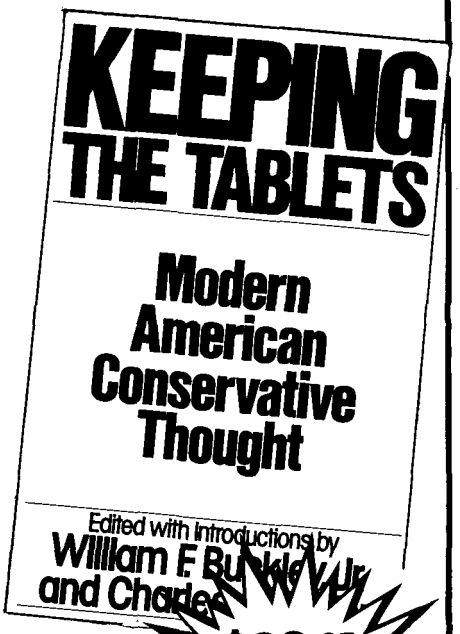

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